

## **Knights and knighthood in Tudor England**

Leonard, Harry

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author

For additional information about this publication click this link.

<http://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/jspui/handle/123456789/1488>

Information about this research object was correct at the time of download; we occasionally make corrections to records, please therefore check the published record when citing. For more information contact [scholarlycommunications@qmul.ac.uk](mailto:scholarlycommunications@qmul.ac.uk)

KNIGHTS AND KNIGHTHOOD  
IN  
TUDOR ENGLAND

Harry Leonard

Thesis submitted for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
London.  
1970.

### Abstract

The first chapters of this thesis attempt to isolate the factors responsible for the making of a Tudor knight. Birth (noble and gentle), education, wealth, connexions, religion, activity in royal service, war, and the general summons to take up knighthood are all surveyed and, together with an analysis of the fluctuating numbers of knights throughout the century, provide material for a discussion of royal attitudes towards the honour.

Dubbing ceremonies and the occasions deemed suitable are next described and a discussion of the significance of the ceremonies for both crown and subject is undertaken.

Finally, a study of the work of knights as members of parliament, justices of the peace, sheriffs and deputy lieutenants seeks to determine whether knights had taken up new duties to replace the moribund military ones, and a brief conclusion suggests how and why knighthood was transformed during the century to survive the decline of feudalism and chivalry.

Table of Contents

Preface	3
Abbreviations	4
List of tables and appendices	6
Introduction	8
Chapter 1.            Birth and Education.	12
Chapter 2.            The Royal Summons.	43
Chapter 3.            The Royal Choice (i).	84
Chapter 4.            The Royal Choice (ii).	128
Chapter 5.            Lords and Commons.	169
Chapter 6.            The Royal Act.	206
Chapter 7.            Servants of the Crown (i).	236
Chapter 8.            Servants of the Crown (ii).	268
Conclusion.	293
Appendices.	300
Bibliography.	364



### Preface

Many people have helped in the writing of this thesis. I wish to thank the board of governors of Newbold College for their practical encouragement by reducing my teaching programme, Sir Anthony Wagner who kindly made available certain records of the College of Arms, the History of Parliament Trust for the suggestions on sources which some of its unpublished biographies of members of parliament provided, and Professor Bindoff and members of his seminar for their encouragement, suggestions and criticisms.

The method of dating adopted throughout the thesis has been New Style for the year but Old Style for the day of the month. Quotations from documents have not been modernized, except where the editor of a printed edition has done so.

### Abbreviations

Add. MS.	British Museum, Additional Manuscript.
Anstis, <u>Essay</u> .	J. Anstis, <u>Observations introductory to an historical essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath</u> - text.
Anstis, <u>App</u> .	<u>Ibid.</u> - appendix, separately paginated.
Anstis, <u>Garter</u> .	<u>The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter</u> , ed. J. Anstis.
<u>A.P.C.</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council of England</u> .
Berry, <u>Surrey</u> .	W. Berry, <u>County Genealogies: Pedigrees of Surrey Families</u> .
Berry, <u>Sussex</u> .	W. Berry, <u>County Genealogies: Pedigrees of Sussex Families</u> .
<u>B.I.H.R.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u> .
<u>C.C.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Close Rolls</u> .
Comber, <u>Lewes</u> .	J. Comber, <u>Sussex Genealogies, Lewes Centre</u> .
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</u> .
<u>C.R.S.</u>	<u>Catholic Record Society Publications</u> .
<u>C.S.P. Dom.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</u> .
<u>C.S.P. For.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series</u> .
<u>C.S.P. Ire.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland</u> .
<u>C.S.P. Spanish</u> .	<u>Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain</u> .
<u>C.S.P. Venetian</u> .	<u>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice</u> .
Dashwood	<u>The Visitation of Norfolk in the year 1563</u> , ed. G.H. Dashwood et.al.

Abbreviations contd.

<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>Econ. H.R.</u>	<u>Economic History Review.</u>
<u>E.E.T.S.</u>	<u>Early English Text Society Publications.</u>
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review.</u>
<u>G.E.C.</u>	<u>G.E.C.(ockayne), The Complete Peerage.</u>
<u>Harl.</u>	<u>British Museum, Harleian Manuscript.</u>
<u>H.M.C.</u>	<u>Historical Manuscripts Commission.</u>
<u>Hughes &amp; Larkin.</u>	<u>P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, Tudor Royal Proclamations.</u>
<u>Lansd.</u>	<u>British Museum, Lansdowne Manuscript.</u>
<u>L.P.</u>	<u>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. J.S. Brewer et. al.</u>
<u>Mouseley</u>	<u>J.E. Mouseley, Sussex Country Gentry in the Reign of Elizabeth (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1956).</u>
<u>Neale, Commons.</u>	<u>J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons.</u>
<u>Neale, Parliaments, i.</u>	<u>J.E. Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1559-1581.</u>
<u>Neale, Parliaments, ii.</u>	<u>J.E. Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1584-1601.</u>
<u>Nichols, Progresses.</u>	<u>J. Nichols, The Progresses and Processions of Queen Elizabeth.</u>
<u>Nichols, Lit. Rem.</u>	<u>J.G. Nichols, Literary Remains of King Edward VI.</u>
<u>Nicolas, Knighthood.</u>	<u>N.H. Nicolas, History of the Orders of Knighthood. (four volumes, each consisting of several sections separately paginated. These have been indicated, e.g. Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, for the section on the order of the Garter).</u>
<u>Norf. Arch.</u>	<u>Norfolk Archaeology.</u>

Abbreviations contd.

<u>Parl. Rets.</u>	<u>Return of Members of Parliament, i. England 1213-1702.</u>
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
Proby MS. Transcript.	Transcript of the second payment of the lay subsidy granted 18 Elizabeth, from a MS. in the hands of Mr. Granville Proby of Elton Hall, presented to the Public Record Office in 1945.
P.R.O. <u>Sheriffs.</u>	<u>List of Sheriffs</u> (P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, ix).
<u>S.A.C.</u>	<u>Sussex Archaeological Collections.</u>
Shaw.	W.A. Shaw, <u>The Knights of England.</u>
Smith.	A. Hassell Smith, The Elizabethan Gentry of Norfolk, Office Holding and Faction (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1959).
Somerville, i.	R. Somerville, <u>History of the Duchy of Lancaster, i. 1265-1603.</u>
Stone, <u>Crisis.</u>	<u>The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641.</u>
Swales.	R. Swales, The Parliamentary Representation of Sussex, 1529-1558 (unpublished Bristol Ph.D. thesis, 1964).
<u>T.R.H.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</u>
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>Victoria History of the Counties of England.</u>
<u>Vis. Norf.</u>	<u>The Visitations of Norfolk, 1563, 1589, 1613,</u> ed. W. Rye.
<u>Vis. Sx.</u>	<u>The Visitations of the county of Sussex, 1530,</u> <u>1633-4,</u> ed. W. Bruce Bannerman.
Watson.	J.B. Watson, The Lancashire Gentry 1529 to 1558, with special reference to their public services (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1959).

Tables and appendices

All tables refer to the counties of Lancashire, Norfolk, and Suffolk unless otherwise stated.

1.	Incidence of knighthood in families (i), 1500-1603	15
2.	Incidence of knighthood in families (ii), 1500-1603.	19
3, 4.	Education at university or inns of court, knights, j.p.'s and m.p.'s.	36
5.	Younger sons in Norfolk knightly families educated at the expense of elder brothers.	39
6.	Preferences in education, late sixteenth century.	40
7.	National coverage of subsidy returns, 1523-6.	87
8.	" " " " " , 1550-1.	89
9.	" " " Proby MS., 1577.	91
10.	Number of knights in England, 1523, 1550, 1577.	94
11.	To show the accuracy of the method used in compiling national lists of knights.	95
12.	Number of knights in England, 1500, 1523, 1550, 1577, 1600.	102
13.	Knights at 5 yearly intervals.	104
14.	Types of knights made in England, fifteenth century.	114
15.	Number of families receiving first knighthood, by reign.	130
16.	Proportion of new families to total families knighted.	130
17.	Knightly families receiving no knighthood under Elizabeth.	130
18.	Knights of the shire, 1529-1601.	199
19.	Parliamentary experience of the knights of England, 1550 and 1577.	201
20.	Foreigners receiving knighthoods and annuities, 1546-50.	227

21.	Knights and the commissions of the peace, 1515-1601.	249
22.	Attendances at Norfolk quarter sessions, 1585-6.	263
23.	Knights as sheriffs of Norfolk and Sussex, 1400-1609.	269
24.	Knights as sheriffs of all three counties, 1529-1609.	270
A.	Knightly families of Lancashire, 1500-1603.	302
B.	Knightly families of Norfolk, 1500-1603.	309
C.	Knightly families of Sussex, 1500-1603.	318
D.	Summonses for knighthood, 1485-1559.	325
E.	Subsidy tables, Lancashire, 1523-1599.	328
F.	Subsidy tables, Norfolk, 1523-1596.	335
G.	Subsidy tables, Sussex, 1523-1595.	341
H.	Knights made in the parliament time, 1529-1601.	349
I.	Knights and non-knights elected to parliament, 1472-1601.	357
J.	Numbers of knights sitting in parliament, 1491-1601.	359
K.	Knights and the commissions of the peace, 1515-1601.	306

### Introduction

Studies of groups within Tudor society have multiplied in recent years. The aristocracy has received monumental coverage from the pens of Professor Stone and Miss Helen Miller, the yeomen have found their historian in Miss Mildred Campbell, and since R.H. Tawney, the gentry have attracted the attention of historians too numerous to cite.<sup>1</sup> The Tudor knightage has not received similar attention, possibly because it has been thought unworthy of it. Such an attitude would spring naturally from the assumption, made by E.P. Cheyney that for practical purposes there was no difference between the gentleman and the knight.<sup>2</sup> This assumption has received support from Drs. Ferguson and Caspari who outline the decline of the knightly ideal in contemporary literature and its replacement by that of the renaissance gentleman.<sup>3</sup> Yet knights continued to be made and the excessive granting of knighthood at the end of the century caused a stir which suggests that the honour retained (or had regained), considerable social and political significance.

---

<sup>1</sup> Stone, Crisis; H. Miller, The Early Tudor Peerage, 1485-1547 (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1950); M. Campbell, The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts; R.H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640', Econ. H.R. XI (1941), 1-38.

<sup>2</sup> A History of England from the defeat of the Spanish Armada to the death of Elizabeth, ii. 342.

<sup>3</sup> A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry; F. Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England.

This thesis is an attempt to determine the nature of that significance, and the degree to which it changed throughout the period, by examining the considerations which led to the dubbing of a gentleman, the nature of the knighting ceremonies, and the role of the knight in Tudor society.

There exists no body of records which relate directly to these aspects of knighthood, and since there were probably over two thousand knights alive during the Tudor period, sampling was necessary. Two methods have been employed. First, lists of knights for all English counties have been compiled for five dates more or less equally spaced throughout the sixteenth century, and a certain amount of elementary information, such as the date and occasion of knighthood, gathered for each name. Some sort of check in depth on conclusions drawn from this evidence, as well as an extension of the investigation, was obviously required and for this purpose the knightly families of Lancashire, Norfolk and Sussex were studied. Differing in distance from, and connexions with, the court, in their social and political structures, religious characteristics, wealth, and economic activities, these counties give (it is hoped), a reasonably representative sample of the country as a whole. Whether the county study or the nationwide one predominated in any investigation was partly a question of the availability or manageability of the evidence. Some problems, such as distraint, were more easily studied from central government records, although when it came to analysing the activities of distrainees some sampling was necessary, and the need to limit the investigation to a few counties is even more evident in a study of the role of knights as justices of the



peace, for which there is so much evidence, particularly for attendance at quarter sessions.

Some omissions will quickly become apparent. There is almost no mention of the order of the Garter except for a brief discussion of its role in the knighthood of the nobility. The order of the Garter was distinct, with its own institutions, and to do justice to it would require almost a study in itself.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, knighted peers have half a chapter to themselves, are mentioned almost nowhere else, and are excluded from all statistics. It is hoped, however, that what is said in Chapter V justifies this separate and somewhat brief treatment. Thirdly, knighthoods of the residents of Wales and the native Irish have not been considered. The former are probably too few to be of significance, the latter a subject in themselves.

Finally, a word on vocabulary. The term 'knightly family' has been used to denote a family which produced a knight at some stage throughout the Tudor period, and statistics concerning knightly families, especially those relating to the early Tudor period, contain families which could not yet boast a knighted head.<sup>2</sup> 'Non-knightly' families are thus families which produced no knights during the period. The word 'family' has been used in its narrow sense, each branch of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Material is not lacking and a number of historians have covered the ground apparently thoroughly, although Dr. Strong has opened up new and fruitful lines of investigation lately: R.C. Strong, 'Queen Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter', Archaeological Journal, cxix (1962)

<sup>2</sup> At least since the beginning of the fifteenth century.

same name being treated as a separate family. A younger son is thus considered to have founded a new family which has been deemed knightly only if, from its foundation to 1603, one of its heads or heirs was knighted.

## Chapter I

### Birth and Education

There was once a wise and noble king who purposed to hold a great and solemn feast at which he would make knights and made proclamation of the same throughout the land. And so it was that a young esquire made his way to the king's palace. The journey was long and the young man fell asleep on his faithful palfrey which chanced to stray from the path into the forest to a clearing where flowed a crystal spring. In this place there dwelt a hermit, a knight of great virtue and full of years, who had repaired hither to meditate upon death. The esquire awoke to find the ancient knight reading from a little book on chivalry and greatly distressed him by confessing that he knew not the deep meaning of the honour that he was about to claim. Humbly he bore the knight's reproaches and willingly he accepted his instruction. Thus endowed, the esquire went on his way, was knighted by his king and presented copies of the hermit's little book to all those newly-made knights who did not have the good fortune to stray from the path as they came.

This story first appeared as the introduction to a thirteenth-century treatise on knighthood written by Ramond Lull but it was still circulating in the sixteenth-century thanks to translations by William

Caxton (who dedicated his work to Richard III),<sup>1</sup> and the Windsor herald Thomas Wall (who dedicated his to Henry VIII).<sup>2</sup> Lull's thesis was that knighthood had fallen from its former glory to which it would be restored only when knights were chosen with more discrimination and educated with more care. At present, the story implies, the only qualification for entry to the order is birth: the esquire (later to be revealed as the son of a knight),<sup>3</sup> simply decided that he had reached the age for entry to the order and sought out his lord to perform the ceremony. Knighthood, it seems, ran in families. Lull seems to accept this as inevitable and pleads rather for an improvement in the quality of the knightly heir. Indeed, by insisting that it was the duty of every knight to prepare his heir for the order, Lull was strengthening rather than weakening the notion of an hereditary succession. This notion still predominated in chivalric literature at the end of the fifteenth century, a point which has encouraged one historian to assert that then were 'many... who accepted formal knighthood ... as an hereditary honour.'<sup>4</sup>

In the strictest sense, of course, knighthood was not hereditary, for each member of the order had to be dubbed personally: 'no man is a Knight by succession,' wrote Sir Thomas Smith, 'not the King or Prince.'<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii).

<sup>2</sup> SP 9/31. 'The ordre of knighthod translated out of franche by T.W. Wyndesore. h. a9 1532'

<sup>3</sup> Byles, op. cit. 21.

<sup>4</sup> A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry, 4.

<sup>5</sup> De Republica Anglorum, 21.

But this does not rule out the possibility that the king tended to limit his choice to certain knightly families. It is necessary, therefore, to ascertain how far knighthoods ran in families in the sixteenth century, how far a Tudor gentleman's chances of entering the order were enhanced by being born the son of a knight, and thus how far one may write accurately of a knightly class.

For this particular investigation, a number of knightly families found in tables A, B and C have been omitted lest they create a false impression. Thirteen knights were the sole representatives of their family in the sixteenth century and, if included, would find a place both in the group of families in which every generation was knighted, and with those families possessing only one knighted head.<sup>1</sup> Their inclusion in either group is obviously misleading. It would have been equally inaccurate to have included families like the Boleyns of Blickling. Although all three of its sixteenth-century heads (and four of its members) were knighted before the last of the line died in 1561,<sup>2</sup> the family did not live to experience an Elizabethan knighthood and this, as it turns out, is one of the decisive elements in making or marring a family's record. For similar reasons, the Butts, Calthorpes of Burnham, Owens, Langleys and Leylands have been omitted together with both branches

---

<sup>1</sup> From Lancs., Sir Thomas Ashton of Ashton-under-Lyme, Sir Nicholas Mosely; from Norfolk, Sir Edward Knyvett of Wymandham, Sir Thomas and Sir Robert Lovell, Sir Dru Drury, Sir John Heydon (k. 1599), Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Payton, Sir John Shelton (k. 1596); from Sussex, Sir Roger Lewkenor, Sir Richard Lewkenor, Sir Owen West.

<sup>2</sup> Table B.

of the Gawdy family, which were established only in the second half of the century, and the Booths, Jeffrays and Woodhouses of Waxham, whose lines died out before 1580. Finally, the Brownes, Sackvilles and Wests have been omitted because they were elevated to the peerage, and the Copleys because the head of the family fled to France in 1570 where both he and his son were knighted by the French king.<sup>1</sup> Three families emigrating to other counties (the Brays, the Oxenbridges, and the Holcrofts of Werden) have been included, however.

six / Twenty-eight families have thus been eliminated. Nevertheless, a sufficiently large number of knightly families remain to make an analysis worth while and the results pertinent. Few had an unbroken record of knighted heads: in Sussex, none of the 20 families survived the test, in Lancashire only two out of 37 and in Norfolk ~~five~~ out of 33. Thus only in seven (or 7.8 per cent) of the 90 families studied was the hereditary factor apparently very strong and even this may be a superficial judgment, for what appears to be the workings of heredity may be something else, as indeed seems most likely in the remaining 92.2 per cent of the families involved.

Table 1

County	Families	1 generation knighted	2 generations knighted	3 or more, but not consistently knighted	Consistently knighted
Lancs.	37	20	7	8	2
Norfolk	33	15	3	9	6
Sussex	20	11	6	3	0
Totals	90	46 (51%)	16 (17.9%)	20 (22.3%)	8 (8.9%)

<sup>1</sup> Letters of Sir Thomas Copley, ed. R.C. Christie, pp. xxxiii, xl.

Such a method makes no allowance for unusual circumstances, however, and its results are somewhat misleading. For example, it eliminates from the 'all generation' group the Norfolk family of Bedingfield of Oxburgh. Three successive heads were not knighted during the Tudor period yet this proves little, for there was little time for Edmund (1583-5) or Thomas (1585-90) to obtain the honour and Thomas' son stood no chance at all since he was a minor for the rest of the period. In the case of the Bedingfields, therefore, there were only 16 years during the 103 under survey during which a Bedingfield head could have been, but was not, a knight. On these criteria, the Bedingfields turn out to be almost the knightly family par excellence, nearly equalling the Heydons, who, with five knighted heads out of five, had 15 years when a head of the family was unknighted. The Bedingfields' case is an extreme one, but so, for that matter, is the Heydons', for no other 'all generations' family had such an illustrious record as they.

In Lancashire a similar pattern obtains. The family which had a knighted head for the most years was Southworth of Samlesbury, only 9 years of the 103 being knightless. Yet the Southworths do not appear in the 'all generations' group, for Thomas, who succeeded his father in 1595, did not become a knight.<sup>1</sup> This record surpasses that of the 'all generation' families in all three counties. Furthermore, the Leighs, Molyneux and Gerards of Bryn, each of which had one unknighted head, were no more than 25 years

---

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 307, Southworth, n.b.

without a knight, a record as good as that of the remaining 'all generations' families from either county. The case of the Gerards of Bryn, where one head is deemed to have 'missed' the honour shows up another fault in the analysis as originally undertaken, for Thomas Gerard did not succeed his father until 1601 which hardly gave him time to be knighted before the death of Elizabeth. He was knighted in 1603, but knightings by James I have not been considered because it was felt that knighthood changed its meaning somewhat with the accession of that monarch and because such knightings could tell us little about Tudor knighthood. The case of Thomas Gerard may be the exception which proves the rule and the Gerards of Bryn probably deserve a place in the 'all generations' group.

On the other hand, there are good reasons for rejecting some of the 'all generations' families from a group which is supposed to demonstrate the hereditary nature of the honour. The Norfolk families of Lovell, Paston and Townshend were each roughly half a century without a knighted head, even though every head was ultimately knighted. Thomas Lovell of East Harling had to wait thirty three years as head of the family before being dubbed in 1601 and in this case there is supporting documentary evidence for the view that birth counted for little in his attaining of the honour.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the Townshend family was 63 years without a knighted head, 49 when allowance had been made for the minority of Roger who succeeded his grandfather Sir Roger in 1551. Even after

---

<sup>1</sup> Below, pp. 153-4.



he had proved his age in 1564 he still had to wait a further 24 years to be knighted in 1588 two years before his death, a long time to wait for an honour which had become to any degree hereditary. William Paston, grandson and heir of Sir William who died in 1554, also had to wait twenty-four years before entering the order, Arthur Heveningham twenty-one, and Edward Clere (whose family generally had a better record) also twenty-one. When families could spend this long with an unknighthed head and nearly half of the whole period without a knight it is difficult to argue with any conviction that the honour was habitually bestowed upon the new head of the family and something more than family tradition may be needed to explain the acquisition of the honour.

Thus, to be able to reason with any degree of certainty that knight-hoods run in families, the family should have more than 70 years with a knighted head and a lapse of no more than one generation, save in the exceptional circumstances of the Bedingfields. On these criteria, nine families qualify: the Norfolk lines of Bedingfield, Clere of Ormsby, and Heydon, and the Lancashire families of Byron, Leigh, Molyneux, Radcliffe, Gerard of Bryn and Southworth, although the last two would probably not have been included had it not been for the longevity of Sir Thomas Gerard and Sir John Southworth, both knighted before the accession of Elizabeth and dying towards the end of her reign. In this group Lancashire is far better, and Norfolk less well, represented than in the 'all generation' group: the numbers in Lancashire are considerably enhanced from two to six, those in Norfolk are depressed from six to three but Sussex remains without a representative and the group is larger

by only one and the result shows no significant change in the pattern first discerned: that only in the case of a small minority (8.9 per cent or 10 per cent) might knighthoods have run in families, while a majority (51 per cent) of the 90 families included in the study gained only one knighthood during the century.

Table 2

County	Families	1 generation knighted	2 generations knighted	3 or more, but not consistently knighted	Consistently knighted
Lancs.	37	20	7	4	6
Norfolk	33	15	3	12	3
Sussex	20	12	6	3	0
Totals	90	46 (51%)	16 (17.9%)	19 (21%)	9 (10%)

There was nevertheless, a considerable advantage in being the heir of the family. Only 25 of the 174 knights made were not heirs or heads when knighted.<sup>1</sup> Apart from this, one must conclude that the hereditary factor was slight and that if operative at all, was amenable to other, more powerful, influences.

---

<sup>1</sup> From Lancs., Thomas Holcroft of Werden, Nicholas Moseley, James Stanley, Thomas Stanley; from Norfolk, James Boleyn, Francis Calthorpe, Dru Drury, Thomas Gawdy, Richard and John Gresham, John Heydon (k. 1599), James Hobart (k. 1504), Christopher Jenney, Robert Mansell, Thomas Paston, John Peyton, John Shelton, Robert Southwell, William Woodhouse of Hickling, Robert Townshend; from Sussex, Richard Lewkenor, Edmund Marvyn, Owen and George West, Anthony Wyndsor.

In the face of such a lack of continuity there is considerable difficulty in supporting the concept of a knightly class, unless one accepts that it comprised this small minority group of 8 or 10 families for the three counties (or between 300 and 400 for the country). While this number would compare favourably with the 93 noble families of 1588<sup>1</sup> and appear to be the next layer in the social pyramid, such an arrangement presents difficulties: where are the remaining 90 per cent of the knightly families to be placed; and what of the many peers who were also knighted? It is, perhaps, better not to think in terms of clearly defined class divisions. Peers were often (though not invariably) knights also, and lords, knights and gentlemen married in and out of their groups (though generally within the larger group), at random. Contemporaries recognized that these three groups had much in common. Mulcaster included all gentlemen in his use of the word 'nobility',<sup>2</sup> while the author of the Discourse of the Common Weal has a knight to represent the interests of gentlemen as a whole.<sup>3</sup> When the group was divided, it was to titles rather than classes that authors looked, one using the term 'nobilitas maior' for the hereditary nobility and 'nobilitas minor' for knights and gentlemen.<sup>4</sup> Professor MacCaffrey's extension of the term 'aristocracy'

---

<sup>1</sup> Lansd. MS. 104, ff. 51-51b.

<sup>2</sup> R. Mulcaster, Positions, 197.

<sup>3</sup> A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, ed. E. Lamond, passim.

<sup>4</sup> T. Wilson, The State of England Anno Dom. 1600, ed. F.J. Fisher (Camden Miscellany, xvi), 23.

to include the whole of the upper gentry is thus not without support.<sup>1</sup> A knighthood, like a peerage, was simply a title of honour, differing from a peerage in the inferior, albeit honourable, social status it conferred and in its non-hereditary nature. Knighthood was not so much a class distinction as a distinction for some members of the wealthier, landowning classes.

Thus, although to be born the son of a knight was no guarantee of a knighthood, gentle birth was advantageous. In medieval times the commonplace that 'gentleness is a quality of manners, not birth' was little more than a pious phrase since only on rare occasions did a man of ungentle birth receive the accolade.<sup>2</sup> There was, in fact, resistance to the notion that the low-born could rise to heights worthy of knighthood. Froissart relates that Sir Robert Salle was ~~tempted~~ <sup>captured</sup> by the rebels of 1381 because he was the son of a mason and would never be accepted as a gentleman, while another knight of the same century is described grudgingly as 'miles fidelissimus quamquam mercator'.<sup>3</sup> The fourteenth-century treatise Knyghthode and Bataille, translated in the fifteenth century and probably still in use much later argues that only landed knights of noble birth could be relied upon to show courage in warfare,<sup>4</sup> while Caxton went so far as to add glosses to his translation of Lull's handbook on chivalry

---

<sup>1</sup> W.T. MacCaffrey, 'England: the Crown and the new Aristocracy, 1540-1600', Past and Present, xxx (1965), 64.

<sup>2</sup> M. Greaves, The Blazon of Honour, 43.

<sup>3</sup> E. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 309-10.

<sup>4</sup> Knyghthode and Bataille, ed. R. Dyboski and Z.M. Arend (E.E.T.S. cci).

which modified the argument of his author by excluding those of low birth from the order.<sup>1</sup>

Writers of the sixteenth century were more willing to admit the virtuous low born to the ranks of gentility (Richard Pace sought to minimise the importance of birth and wealth, suggesting that 'true nobility is that made by virtue rather than by a famous and long pedigree',<sup>2</sup> a theme endorsed by John Rastell<sup>3</sup> and many others), but ancient lineage was never ousted from its central position. Cowardice, the antithesis of knightly virtue, was linked with base birth by both Sidney and Spenser in their interchangeable use of the names 'coward' and 'cowherd'.<sup>4</sup> Spenser is quite explicit: 'gentle blood will gentle manners breed' while on the other hand it is 'seldome seene, that one in baseness set Doth noble courage shew, with curteous manners met.'<sup>5</sup> Although Spenser did not completely rule out the possibility of low-born virtue, he usually followed the convention of revealing that the apparently low-born knight was, after all, of good lineage,<sup>6</sup> and Sidney in his Arcadia also made it clear that birth and good breeding were more likely to produce the knightly virtues.<sup>7</sup> So did Lawrence Humphrey in his The Nobles or of Nobilitye. One of his burdens was that men were climbing the social

---

<sup>1</sup> The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii), pp. xxxviii, xxxix, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by F. Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order, 150.

<sup>3</sup> J. Rastell, Gentleness and nobility.

<sup>4</sup> Greaves, op. cit. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Faerie Queen, vi. 3. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Caspari, op. cit. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Greaves, op. cit. 65.

ladder too quickly and he admits the low-born to true nobility only when their rise is accompanied by virtue. Such men could emerge, he thought, but it was not the ideal. This was realised 'when Noble Vertues in nobled race doe shyne,'<sup>1</sup> or, to use the phraseology of an anonymous author of 1555, the 'gentle gentle' is always preferable to the 'ungentle gentle'.<sup>2</sup> Few, it seems could rise successfully from humble beginnings, for having admitted - even argued - the possibility that some might achieve gentle status by virtue and learning, he quickly warns his readers against thinking that this can include the many who 'have obteigned the name of gentleman, the degree of Esquiers, and the title of Knightes' by sharp dealing in monastic lands.<sup>3</sup> The well-born, virtuous gentleman was thus doubly qualified. Such men, wrote Mulcaster, 'doth well deserve double honour among men, as bearing the true coate of right and best nobilitie, where desert for vertue is quartered with discent in blood, seeing aunciencie of linage, and derivation of nobilitie is in such credit among us and alwaye hath bene.'<sup>4</sup>

Earlier in the century another advocate of education had likewise come down on the side of birth: Elyot was anxious that his new ruling class should receive a humanistic education, but he clearly hoped that its members would have both ancient lineage and education rather than education alone.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The Nobles or of Nobilitye, ff. c iii b, g vi b - h i a.

<sup>2</sup> The Institution of a Gentleman, f. B vi a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ff. D ii a - D iii a.

<sup>4</sup> Positions, 199.

<sup>5</sup> The Governour, i. 27.

In this case, the theorists were in harmony with the social facts. An act of 1440 had stated that if shire members were not knights already, they should be such 'as be able to be knights' and it defines this group as 'notable esquires, gentlemen of birth' excluding from it any 'that standeth in the degree of yeoman and beneath.'<sup>1</sup> Near the end of the sixteenth century, Coke also implied that knights were likely to come from one social group when he emphasised the importance of landed revenues as a qualification.<sup>2</sup>

According to Coke, therefore, only the gentry might expect knighthood. He was near enough correct. All the Sussex knights dubbed by Elizabeth are to be found among the families in Dr. Mauseley's study of the Elizabethan Sussex gentry, all the knights in Lancashire between 1530 and 1558 appear in Mr. J.B. Watson's study of the early Tudor Lancashire gentry and nearly all Elizabethan knights of Norfolk come within the scope of Dr. Hassell Smith's study of the justices of the peace of Norfolk in Elizabeth's reign. However, although knighthood was the province of the gentry, it was clearly not the prerogative of every member: of 80 non-noble families in Dr. Mauseley's study only 17 received a knighthood at some point in the century;<sup>3</sup> in Lancashire only 38 out of the 81 that

---

<sup>1</sup> Statutes of the Realm, ii. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Second Institute, 594.

<sup>3</sup> The word 'family' has been used to denote each branch, rather than counting all branches as one family, as Dr. Mauseley tends to do. To the 17 knighted families might be added three which were knighted and later ennobled.

Mr. Watson includes in his major gentry;<sup>1</sup> and in Norfolk 30 of the 434 Dr. Smith's families.<sup>2</sup> A similar conclusion is reached by considering the 91 knightly families in our three counties: 183 (51.3 per cent) of the 357 heads of families were not knighted.

For those anxious to receive the honour, birth into the upper ranks of society was a step in the right direction. To possess the birthright was another. But it was the best way of beginning the journey, not a guarantee of arriving at the desired destination. In Lull's story, that journey led by good fortune through an education and the author leaves his readers clearly to understand that this vital step should not be left to chance.

In his will of 1537 Sir Robert Lee of Quarrendon, Bucks, desired that his youngest son, a minor, should be brought up in virtue and learning as a knight's son. Lee was conscious of the need to educate his children according to their station for he made similar provisions for his daughters.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately he left no indication of the type of education he envisaged at a time when the content of a gentleman's education was provoking considerable discussion and when some progressive parents like Thomas Cromwell were already engaged in providing a different

---

<sup>1</sup> Three more families received knighthoods: the Stanleys of Cross Hall and the Stanleys of Winwick and the Moseleys. These are all treated by Watson separately, the Stanleys in an appendix on the Stanley family, the Moseleys in an appendix on the minor gentry.

<sup>2</sup> Smith.

<sup>3</sup> PCC 27 Dyngley; cf. the will of Sir William Paston (1554) which required his executors to bring up his young grandchildren according to their degrees: 15 More.



sort of education for their sons. But Elyot's Governour had been published only six years before, and parents of Thomas Cromwell's calibre were doubtless exceptional,<sup>1</sup> and Lee may have been thinking in more conventional terms. Medieval chivalric handbooks stressed the need for instructing esquires in the order of knighthood and even inferred that entry should depend upon such instruction, urging that special schools of chivalry be set up for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> The special schools did not materialise and it is difficult to determine how closely theory was matched by practice but it seems clear that if the medieval knights of England did not receive an education something like that advocated, they probably received none at all. Lords in their households, and the king in his, seem to have provided esquires with the instruction and training the writers called for. Such an education, beginning at the age of seven and continuing until the age of 21, was concerned primarily with behaviour both in the court and on the field. The young esquire learned to sing, dance, carry himself gracefully, carve at table and show courtesy as well as ride, hunt and fight.<sup>3</sup> The moral instruction given was concerned largely with deeds of honour and with fostering a protective attitude towards the church and the oppressed. Reading and writing were the frills of such a programme whose emphasis was upon acting and reacting rather than thinking and

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, 155-6.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii), 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of Chivalry, 183-4; J.H. Hexter, Reappraisals in History, 48.

considering. The humanist writers sought to change this: while a training in graceful and courteous accomplishments was not rejected, it became secondary to the culture of the mind to be used in the service of the state.

The increasing volume of detailed and often technical business with which the sixteenth-century state had to deal demanded a new education if the gentry were to be of service. Richard Pace made the point clearly in a conversation he claimed to have had with a gentleman of the old school: 'I swear by God's body,' thundered the gentleman, 'I'd rather that my son should be hanged than study letters. For it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skillfully and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to rustics.' Pace replied that the learned sons of rustics would have to deal with foreign ambassadors while the gentleman's son simply blew his horn.<sup>1</sup> Half a century later, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was to urge the setting up of an academy for the same reason: noblemen and gentlemen should be instructed in the running of local offices 'for thorough the want thereof the best are oftentimes subiecte to the direction of farre their Inferiors.'<sup>2</sup> Whether they were influenced by the writings of men like Pace, Elyot and Gilbert, or whether the facts of English political life themselves made the impact, the gentry gradually began to

---

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Ferguson, *op. cit.* 215-16.

<sup>2</sup> Queene Elizabethes Achademy, ed. F.J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S. Extra Series, viii), 7. Latimer and Ascham were of the same opinion: R. Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman, 113-4.

educate their sons differently. Education in a noble household survived (although in Burghley's establishment its content was revolutionized),<sup>1</sup> and the education of the sons of a number of gentlemen in one of their households or even private tutoring was not uncommon, but an increasing number of gentlemen sent their sons away to school and then to a place of higher learning.<sup>2</sup> Even a household education was often rounded off by a spell at a university, inn of court and, for the rich, a foreign tour.<sup>3</sup> The avowed aim of all this activity was to produce the gentleman, the well-informed, competent man of affairs, possessing (as Philip Sidney wrote to his younger brother), a 'knowledge of such things as may be serviceable to your country.'<sup>4</sup>

It should not be inferred, however, that the cause of humanist education triumphed unmodified as some writers seem to suggest. Dr. Simon has shown that programmes of education drawn up, and in some cases practised, in Elizabethan England were permeated by religion to an extent that men like Elyot had never considered.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, there has been a tendency to mistake the intention for the deed or the advocacy of the theorists for social reality. Thus several authors use the curriculum of Gilbert's Academy to show how much education had changed since the time of Edward IV, glossing over the facts that Gilbert's excellent

---

<sup>1</sup> Simon, op. cit. 344-5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 363, 367-8.

<sup>3</sup> F.G. Emmison, Tudor Secretary, 127; Simon, op. cit. 346; Stone, Crisis, 692 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Simon, op. cit. 346.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. 339, 347-8, 343, 353.

academy was never set up and that Gilbert's purpose in writing was to provide facilities for an education which, in his view, nowhere existed in England.<sup>1</sup> The universities, he maintained, were not the place for the future rulers of the land, their curricula being insufficiently relevant to the tasks they would be called upon to perform.<sup>2</sup> There was a considerable gap between the ideals of the educationists and actual practice. Ascham deplored the tendency to ignore Castiglione in favour of the more traditional courtly guides<sup>3</sup> and often the new education from its earliest stages to the university or inn of court was little more than unprofitable and mechanical grind.<sup>4</sup> It appears that what was most valued (and valuable), in a university or legal education were 'the unique, informal extra-curricula educational opportunities ... to hear plays, sermons and political gossip, see and be seen at Court, attend schools of dancing, fencing and music.'<sup>5</sup> This list of activities is so little different from that of the court school of Edward IV that there is reason to doubt whether the educational changes of the sixteenth century were as great as is sometimes assumed.

Even in a work which recommends a thorough education, like Cyville

---

<sup>1</sup> Stone, Crisis, 678 does note that it was never set up, but the general impression conveyed by his comparison is that the ideals of Gilbert were currently practised. See also Ferguson.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, op. cit. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Simon, op. cit. 340.

<sup>4</sup> Stone, Crisis, 680; W. Prest, 'The legal education of the gentry at the Inns of Court, 1560-1640', Past and Present, xxxviii (1967), 38.

<sup>5</sup> Prest, loc. cit.

and Uncyville Life, the emphasis upon courtly manners and behaviour is considerable.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the aims of a sixteenth century education were not so different from those of earlier centuries. It is true that knighthood ceased to be the goal of education, being replaced by the ideal of the gentleman to the extent that Mulcaster, among others, could write about the education of the upper classes and mention the word 'knight' only once in passing. In Mulcaster's ordering of society the nobleman is no more than a superior gentleman and the knight is not even mentioned in this context.<sup>2</sup> But the well-informed gentleman, equipped to serve the state, is not so very far removed from the medieval knight who was expected to serve his king, even if the horizons had broadened from personal service to a prince to the wider responsibility to the commonweal,<sup>3</sup> and the growth from the one to the other was a gradual process spurred on by the changing nature of society, government and war: the sixteenth-century gentleman was certainly not a sudden growth, the product wholly of humanism. Lull's knight of the fourteenth century recognized his duty to the community at large even if it was expressed largely in protective terms,<sup>4</sup> and suggested that only their lack of a clerkly education prevented knights from participating more fully in civil and judicial matters. By the time Lydgate wrote, these matters

---

<sup>1</sup> Cyville and Uncyville Life, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, especially pp. 87-88.

<sup>2</sup> R. Mulcaster, Positions, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Hexter, op. cit. 70; Simon, op. cit. 346.

<sup>4</sup> The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii), *passim*.

increasingly preoccupied the knights, education or not, and the poet lamented the passing of the golden age when 'Chevalrye delityd nat with marchandise' and 'Knyghtes in batayle took great empyrse.'<sup>1</sup> Not much later the author of the Boke of Noblesse took the upper classes to task for busying themselves with civil and legal matters rather than undertaking a training that would lead to 'the avauncement and encrease of chevalrie and worship in armes',<sup>2</sup> and Carton was equally determined to return the knighthood to the land of medieval chivalric romance.<sup>3</sup> Society was moving in the opposite direction, however, and it is not surprising that men should begin seeking to remedy the defect which Lull had somewhat complacently observed in a knight's upbringing. Towards the end of the reign of Henry VII, Edmund Dudley was admonishing the governing class to 'set your childeren in youth ... to the lerning of vertue and conning' so that as Christian knights they might serve the state in positions for which they were at present ill-fitted for 'veryly I feare me, the noble men and gentlemen of England be the worse brought vp for the most parte of any realme of christendom.' His purpose was to provide knights who could honour the church, serve the king, and labour for the 'wealth of our commens and the prosperitie of our selves.'<sup>4</sup> And although Stephen Hawes, writing at the same time, had not advanced as far as this (his

---

<sup>1</sup> Lydgate, Minor Poems, ii, ed. H.M. MacCracken, 845.

<sup>2</sup> Boke of Noblesse, ed. J.G. Nichols, 76-77.

<sup>3</sup> See especially his epilogue to his translation of The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii), 121-5.

<sup>4</sup> E. Dudley, The Tree of Commonwealth, ed. D.M. Brodie, 45, 98.

knight was content with conventional deeds of honour in his youth and the amassing of wealth in his old age), he did provide his young esquire with a formidable academic education as the first step to knighthood.<sup>1</sup>

Not long after Hawes came Elyot's The Governour and thenceforth the balance tipped firmly in favour of a bookish education for practical purposes, but once again, Elyot did not so much reject the knightly ideal as inject something new into it. 'A knyght,' he wrote, 'hath received the honour not onely to defende with the swerde Christis faith and his propre countrey ... but also, and that most chiefly by meane of his dignity (if that be imploied where it shuld be, and esteemed as it ought to be), he shold more effectually with his learnyng and witte assaile vice and errour, most pernicious ennemies to christen men, having thereunto for his swerde and speare his tunge and penne.'<sup>2</sup> A few years later the doctor in the Discourse of the Common Weal was urging a bookish education upon a knight who was actively engaged in, and concerned about, the running of the country<sup>3</sup> and an anonymous author was asserting that a 'ryght gentelman oughte to be a man fyt for the warres and fyte for the peace, mete for the courte and meete for the countrey.'<sup>4</sup> Even so, the thoroughly educated knight or gentleman was

---

<sup>1</sup> The Pastime of Pleasure, ed. W.A. Mead (E.E.T.S. clxxiii), passim.

<sup>2</sup> A Preservative agaynste Deth, f. Allb - Alllb.

<sup>3</sup> A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, ed. E. Lamond, 21-31. The knight retains his military characteristics, 83-84, 94-95, but is also a civil administrator, 13, 67. Ferguson is surely mistaken in suggesting that the knight's military training had included the study of military authors (*op. cit.* 79, n.7). The doctor's remarks suggest rather that the knight would do better if he had read Vegetius: Discourse, 26.

<sup>4</sup> The Institution of a Gentleman, f. B7b-B8a.

apparently rare enough for further schemes for his education to appear (one of them invoking legislation to its aid),<sup>1</sup> and for Gilbert to plead for the setting up of his Academy. Gilbert's scheme, for all its breadth of curriculum, leant much more heavily towards 'useful' subjects than the earlier humanists. Pace, and to some extent Elyot, had been content to give their young men a thorough academic education which, it was assumed, would fit them for government. Gilbert was unconvinced, believing that it was as necessary to 'teache exquisitely the office of a Iustice of the peace and Sheriffe' as the art of horsemanship.<sup>2</sup> To that extent, perhaps, it resembles rather more closely the medieval schools of chivalry.

Nevertheless, although it may have changed in an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary fashion, it is clear that by the end of the sixteenth century the education available for the gentry (from whom the knightage sprung) was different in many respects from that of earlier centuries. It remains to see how sons of knights or future knights participated in this change, and how far knighthood was affected by it. The number of gentlemen's sons attending the universities and inns of court rose gradually in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, even if the movement has been pictured more dramatically than it merits.<sup>3</sup> Almost half the office-holding gentry

---

<sup>1</sup> Simon, op. cit. 334-5. Among a list of Considerations drawn up for submission to the parliament of 1559.

<sup>2</sup> H. Gilbert, Queene Elizabethes Achademy, ed. F.J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S. Extra Series, viii), 7.

<sup>3</sup> Hexter, op. cit. 54; cf. J. Simon, 'The Social Origins of Cambridge Students, 1603-1640', Past and Present, xxvi (1963), 60.



of Sussex in 1580 who were heads of families in that year had attended neither a university nor an inn and only 14.9 per cent had attended both<sup>1</sup> while even in 1601 a substantial minority (43 per cent) of the House of Commons had attended neither.<sup>2</sup> A fashion was growing but it was apparently meeting some fairly stiff resistance. That resistance appears to have been stronger among knightly families than the gentry as a whole. Sons of knights are certainly to be found among the admissions registers, but they are relatively scarce. Only sixteen are to be found in the Caius register between 1551 and 1603 out of a total of over 1100 entries, and in the same period there were only 88 sons of knights (many of them brothers), out of a total of over 2200 entries to the Middle Temple.<sup>3</sup> In Norfolk, only five of the 26 heads of families which already had a Tudor knighthood in 1560 (about 11 per cent), had attended a university or inn of court as an heir. By 1580 this figure had risen to 31 per cent (9 out of 29), and to 50 per cent (14 out of 28), by 1600 but Norfolk heirs found their way to these institutions more readily than those of Sussex and Lancashire so that the combined figures for the three counties are much lower. Norfolk's proximity to Cambridge may account for its supremacy in this matter, but whether Norfolk or the other two counties is more typical of the country

---

<sup>1</sup> Mousley, 340.

<sup>2</sup> M. Mort, 'The Personnel of the Parliament of 1601' (unpublished London M.A. Thesis, 1952), section II, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Based on, Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, 1. ed. J. Venn; and Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, 1, ed. H.A.C. Sturgess.

as a whole, it is clear that heirs of knightly families were sent to university or inn of court less often than the gentry in general - 51.8 per cent of the heads of Sussex gentry families in 1580 had been so educated<sup>1</sup> compared with 23 per cent of the heads of knightly families already having a Tudor knight - or special groups such as members of parliament or justices of the peace.<sup>2</sup> Heirs of families with previous knighthoods were not necessarily heirs of knights, but the records of the two groups correspond quite closely, especially when it is remembered that the rising percentages for the former are based upon a fairly constant dividend whereas those of the latter depend in part on a decreasing dividend. The significant improvement in their educational records was not sufficient for either group to equal those of members of parliament or justices of the peace and the fact that knightly heirs (however defined) had lagged behind for so long needs to be explained.

There are two possible explanations. First, the figures for knightly families concern the education of heirs whereas no such distinction is made in the figures for members of parliament and justices of the peace.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mauseley, 340.

<sup>2</sup> See table on next page.

<sup>3</sup> A point overlooked by Stone and Simon who both use Sir John Neale's figures as 'overwhelming evidence' for the education of heirs male: Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', Past and Present, xxviii (1964), 63; Simon, op. cit. 356-7.

Table 3Education at either University or Inn of Court

	1560	1563	1580	1584	1600	1601	1608
Justices of the Peace <sup>1</sup>		35%		58%			71%
Members of Parliament <sup>2</sup>		32%		48.5%		57%	
Heirs of families already possessing knights. <sup>3</sup>	13.3%		22.3%		40%		
Heirs of knights. <sup>3</sup>	13.4%		23.7%		50%		

<sup>1</sup> J.H. Gleason, The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640, 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> Neale, Commons, 302-3; M. Mort, The Personnel of the Parliament of 1601 (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1952), section II, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Based on Table 4 below.

Table 4

Proportion of heads of knightly families educated  
at Inn of Court or University

	As heirs of a family already possessing a knight			As heirs of a knight		
	1560	1580	1600	1560	1580	1600
Lancs.	1:27	4:30	11:30	1:21	2:17	7:15
Norfolk	5:26	9:29	14:28	5:21	7:17	8:14
Sussex	3:13	3:13	3:12	1: 9	1: 8	1: 3
	9:66	16:72	28:70	7:51	10:42	16:32

In both the latter groups there were a number of educated younger sons, possibly a large number if knights' sons are any guide: of the 16 sons of knights attending Caius College between 1551 and 1603, half were younger sons, as were 48 of the 88 sons of knights admitted to the Middle Temple during the same period.<sup>1</sup>

Some fathers certainly distinguished between their heirs and younger sons, giving a higher education to those who were not expected to inherit the main estates. Sir Richard Stapleton of Carleton, Yorkshire, sent his second son Richard to Cambridge in 1579, but his son and heir Brian is to be found in no admissions register,<sup>2</sup> while Sir Richard Shirburne of Stonyhurst, Lancashire, sent his fourth son Thomas to Cambridge and to Grays Inn between 1579 and 1584 and a later son, Richard, to Oxford and Grays Inn between 1599 and 1601.<sup>3</sup> An even more impressive example is the family of Francis Holt of Gristlehurst, Lancashire: Francis sent his second, third and fourth sons to Cambridge between 1569 and 1578 but his heir, Thomas, attended neither university nor inn of court.

Nevertheless, this conservative attitude, which lingered on into

<sup>1</sup> Based on Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, 1. ed. J. Venn; and Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, 1. ed. H.A.C. Sturgess.

<sup>2</sup> Glover's Visitation of Yorkshire, ed. J. Foster, 332; Alumni Cantabrigienses to 1750, ed. J. Venn and S.A. Venn, iv, 151.

<sup>3</sup> This Richard Shirburne was Sir Richard's son by his second wife, Isabel Woods, and is not to be confused with the son and heir also named Richard: C.D. Sherborn, History of the Family of Sherborn, 1. 36.

the seventeenth century, at least in the North,<sup>1</sup> was gradually dying and men made increasingly less distinction between the education of their heirs and younger sons. Twelve heads of knightly families in Norfolk educated younger sons at the expense of heirs, between 1540 and 1600, but all but three of them did so before 1570.<sup>2</sup> An investigation of the education of the heirs of knightly families in Sussex after 1580 likewise reveals that fathers had ceased to distinguish between heirs and other sons.<sup>3</sup>

Despite this, the percentage of educated heirs of knightly families remains significantly below those for the gentry in general or for specific groups right up to the end of our period. Clearly another factor was at work. While social ambition led some men to educate their sons publicly, social pretension led others to copy the majority of the nobility in educating their sons privately.<sup>4</sup> An education at grammar school, university or inn of court was apparently still in need of recommendation in the late '70's, when the gentry were condemned for keeping their children at home and ceasing their education too early with the result that the average country gentleman was 'full of lofty lookes, barbarous behaviour and vndecent doings.'<sup>5</sup> And Mulcaster,

---

<sup>1</sup> J.T. Cliffe, 'The Yorkshire Gentry on the eve of the Civil War' (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1960), 45. Yorkshire was certainly a conservative county, for less than half (247) of the 679 heads of gentry families in 1642 had received a higher education: *ibid.* 40.

<sup>2</sup> See table 5, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Based on Mauseley, 338-340.

<sup>4</sup> Stone, *Crisis*, 684; Simon, *op. cit.* 293, 295.

<sup>5</sup> *Cyville and Uncyville Life*, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, 88.

Table 5

Younger sons in Norfolk knightly families who received  
a higher education at the expense of the heir.

Name	Father	Education <sup>1</sup>	
Bassingbourne Gawdy )	Thomas	C. 45	I.T. 51
Thomas Gawdy )		C. 45	M.T. 49
Thomas Godsalve	Sir John	C. 52	
James Gresham	Sir John	C. 44	
John Hobart	James		M.T. 91
Robert Lovell	Sir Thomas		L.I. 64
Wolstan Paston	Sir William	C. 75	L.I. 76
Francis Southwell	Sir Robert (Mereworth)		L.I. 44
John Lestrangle	Sir Thomas (d.45)	C. 52	
Roger Townshend )	Sir Roger (d.51)		
Robert Townshend )			L.I. 15
Robert Townshend	Sir Roger (d.90)		G.I. 99
Henry Townshend )	Sir Robert		L.I. 59
Robert Townshend )			L.I. 59
Francis Wyndham )	Sir Edmund		L.I.
Edmund Wyndham )			L.I. 69

<sup>1</sup> C = Cambridge; I.T. = Inner Temple; M.T. = Middle Temple;  
G.I. = Gray's Inn; L.I. = Lincoln's Inn.

observing that 'the further they rise from the multitude in number, and above them in degree, the more private they grow as in person, so in traine', deplored the fact that the gentleman 'which flyeth not so high, but fluttereth some litle above the ordinarie common' should 'make his choice rather to be like them above, which still grow privater.'<sup>1</sup> The temptation to ape one's betters was strong in the sixteenth century and the falling away of interest in the inns of court compared with university which is noticeable among the heirs of knightly families reflects the habits of the nobility rather than the gentry at large, as the following table shows.<sup>2</sup>

Table 6

	Inns of Court		Universities	
	1580	later heirs (C16)	1580	later heirs (C16)
Norfolk	8	9	11	19
Lancs.	4	6	2	6
Sussex	5	6	1	5
	17	21	14	30

<sup>1</sup> Positions, 189.

<sup>2</sup> ~~See table above~~ For the nobility and gentry at large, Stone, Crisis, 690; Dr. Mousely (133), also shows that the generation after her office holders of 1580 did not favour the inns of court as much as their fathers had. A similar movement can be observed in admissions to the Middle Temple. Heirs of knights admitted outnumbered younger sons in the decade 1551-60, but their numbers declined thereafter, save for a rally in the final decade. By 1571-80, younger sons admitted were in the majority, and remained so: computed from Sturgess, op. cit.

Obviously not all knightly families viewed the matter in the same way any more than did all the nobility. A number of families, among them some of the most influential and prosperous like the Gerards of Astley and the Cleres of Ormsby<sup>e</sup>, resisted the temptation to have their children educated privately throughout and made full use of the universities and inns of court. Both were forward-looking families. They prospered and the heirs were knighted. And ability to ride with the educational tide seems to have been significant when it came to securing a knighthood, for 10 of the 16 knights of Norfolk made between 1581 and the death of Elizabeth had a higher education. Even a more remote and conservative county like Lancashire saw a similar movement: there were 11 knights in the county in 1580, only two of them had attended a university or an inn of court and one of them had been educated as a younger brother; by contrast, five of the seven men knighted between 1581 and 1602 had received a higher education.

Towards the end of the century, then, men of a different educational background were being dubbed. Whether their education played an important part in their being chosen is another matter. The Norfolk family of Godsalve, for example, had an excellent educational record in Elizabeth's reign. The head of the family in 1560 and 1580, Thomas, had attended Cambridge; his son and heir Roger went there in 1584 and afterwards went on to Grays Inn, and his grandson was to attend Cambridge in 1607.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Venn & Venn, *op. cit.* ii. 228; Register of admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, ed. J. Foster, 73.



Yet this record did not produce an Elizabethan knighthood. In the long run the fact that knights were educated men may have helped to form a new conception of knighthood, a conception which came closer to the educated gentleman of the renaissance humanist writers than the chivalric ideal of the Middle Ages, but to suggest that those who made knights were affected by these writers is probably to credit both writers and books with more influence than they exerted. The desire to participate in royal affairs and to profit from government office, the increased demands made upon those in the king's service, the need to manage in an increasingly competitive, dynamic society, the expansion of educational facilities prompted by the Reformation as much as the Renaissance, all led to an expansion of education in which the gentry participated.

This combination of factors slowly created a movement which gathered momentum towards the close of the century<sup>1</sup> and which, in the end, not even the knightly families were able to resist. In the last decade of the century so many prosperous and forward-looking families had been caught up in it that, even if she had made the effort, the Queen would have been hard put to it to knight many men who were worthy of the honour who had not received a higher education. The fact that this situation did not obtain until late in the century, and that even then there were exceptions, is a measure of the conservatism of the social group from which Tudor knights were usually chosen and of the length of their rearguard action against the attack upon the traditional, chivalric notions of education.

---

<sup>1</sup> Simon, op. cit. 366-8.

## Chapter II

### The Royal Summons

The young knight who received such a splendid education in Lull's story was on his way to be knighted in answer to a proclamation. Proclamations to become knights were issued throughout the Tudor period and it is important for a correct understanding of Tudor knighthood, and the esteem in which the honour was held, to examine the working and nature of these general summonses.

When the government decided upon a general summons to take up knighthood, writs were directed from chancery to the sheriffs.<sup>1</sup> These vary little throughout the period, the salient features being that the sheriffs are to make proclamation that all with lands or rents, in their hands or in the hands of feoffees to their use, of annual value of £40 for the last three years and who are not knights, should present themselves before the king on a certain date to assume the order of knighthood. The sheriffs are to list and return to chancery before a date specified all those eligible and, beginning with the writ of 1500,

---

<sup>1</sup> See below, Table D, for writs issued 1485-1558. A copy of the writ of 1603 is in Harl. MS. 38, f. 156.

to summon those concerned through good summoners, whom they shall choose.<sup>1</sup>

How the sheriffs drew up their lists is not altogether clear, for the only documents to throw any light upon the problem come from areas of a special nature, the Cinque Ports and Lancashire. In the Cinque Ports area, for which the constable of Dover Castle, as warden, received the writs, fresh writs were sent from the constable to the mayor and jurats of the various towns and each made a return to the constable.<sup>2</sup> This sort of jury procedure also seems to have been adopted in Lancashire when, some time before 1501, a jury of 7 certified to the sheriff, Nicholas Biron, that 8 gentlemen held lands worth more than £40 and were not knights.<sup>3</sup> This was probably standard practice, for a writ of 1483 instructed the sheriff to inform the king 'by inquisition' of the names of those eligible for knighthood.<sup>4</sup> The procedure was still in operation at the accession of James I, the sheriff of Kent even listing his jury in his return.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C54/360, m.5b. This phrase is omitted in the calendared version (C.C.R. 1485-1500, 1117), and is mistranslated 'with due summons' in Hughes and Larkin, i. 48 (see below, n.2). For a sheriff's writ of summons, see Scarisbrick MS. 19/8 (deposited at Lancs. County Record Office).

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 34148, ff. 171-5.

<sup>3</sup> E 198/4/24. The P.R.O. places this document in the reign of Henry VIII, but it must have been drawn up before 1501 when Nicholas Biron was knighted: Shaw, i. 146. The sheriff for 1501 was Sir Edward Stanley whose summons to various gentlemen to be knighted survives: see above, n.1.

<sup>4</sup> C.C.R. 1476-1485, 1035.

<sup>5</sup> Add. MS. 38139, f. 77.

Exactly how these juries arrived at their valuations is not clear. A frequent plea in exchequer cases during Henry VII's time and later to Cromwell, was that the distrainee had been overvalued<sup>1</sup> but the plea was so frequent as to be stereotyped and little notice need be taken of it. The Lancashire jury was composed of those likely to be the peers of those whose lands they were inquiring into and might be expected to make a fairly accurate estimate.

The inquiry having been carried out and the decision as to who should be returned having been taken, the sheriff then summoned the individuals concerned by the 'good summoners' mentioned in the writ, and, in the case of the distraint of 1509, informed chancery of their names in his return.<sup>2</sup> This may have been a safeguard against a plea, sometimes made in the previous reign, that the defendant had not received the summons.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the whole new procedure of having sheriffs appoint summoners instead of leaving it merely to a general proclamation was probably adopted for this purpose rather than, as has been suggested, to eliminate those who would be unable to support the dignity of the order in an age when £40 had devalued considerably.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> L.P. vi. 468, 514, 575, 1160, 1360, 1659, 1662. For similar pleas in the reign of Henry VII, see E 159/278; E 159/279.

<sup>2</sup> E 198/4/27. The sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire had named his summoners in his return for 19 Henry VII, but he was alone in this: E 198/4/22.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Edmund Lucy's plea in DL 5/2, f. 34b.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MS. 980, f. 123b. The writer argues that specific summonses by sheriffs and their summoners between 15 Henry VII and 1 Charles I were an attempt to eliminate undesirables claiming knighthood in obedience to the proclamation. If this were the case, the device was unsuccessful, for in 1603 the sheriff of Kent returned many who were designated in his list as yeomen: Add. MS. 38139, f. 77.

When chancery received the returns, it passed the names to the exchequer for action. The exchequer files contain a bundle of these returns for 1503 and another for 1509, the latter still possessing its covering note which assumes that all those in the returns had refused to obey the summons and instructs the barons to proceed according to the law and custom of the realm.<sup>1</sup> In this case, the law and custom of the realm seems to have been that a man was guilty until proved innocent, for no attempt was made, either by chancery before passing on the returns, or by the exchequer before compiling from them its list of men to be prosecuted, to eliminate those who had in fact been knighted in obedience to the summons. Contemporary jottings on this list make it clear that these had to prove their knighthood before the fine was remitted. According to contemporary notes on this list, 14 men pleaded that they had been made knights at the coronation and received 'good judgment'.<sup>2</sup>

Sooner or later, however, those who were not able to prove knighthood or exemption<sup>3</sup> had to pay a fine. On only one occasion did a writ specify the amount of a fine, £200,<sup>4</sup> and there is no evidence to suggest that it was exacted in full. Generally, fines seem to have varied between £2 and £13.6.8 with occasionally larger sums, especially as the century wore on.

---

<sup>1</sup> E 198/4/22; E 198/4/27.

<sup>2</sup> E 198/4/26. A further four appear to have got away without pleading.

<sup>3</sup> For example, C.P.R. 1494-1509, 278; several in the list of 1509 are said to have claimed a pardon which may mean that an exemption had been made earlier.

<sup>4</sup> December, 1503: Hughes and Larkin, i. 53.

The responsibility for the assessment and collection of these fines varied throughout the period. For most of it, the exchequer loomed in the background, and sometimes may have taken a leading part, but there seems to have been no standard system, the methods adopted depending upon the ministers and monarchs of the day. Proceedings against those who did not obey the summons always began in the exchequer under Henry VII, but the records convey the impression that the exchequer did not assess or collect fines. So many cases were initiated by this court in 1501 that two additional memoranda rolls were devoted to them, but in almost none of these cases is a verdict reached - the royal pardon for Richard Bracebrigge of Warwickshire on account of his 95 years is exceptional<sup>1</sup> - or a fine assessed, although the length of the record varies from one or two hearings, to proceedings over a period of two years culminating in an appeal by the defendant for an assessment of his wealth by a county jury.<sup>2</sup>

Another body involved was the 'council learned in the law'.<sup>3</sup> The records of this body make it difficult to determine whether it was always used, but the book which Sir Robert Somerville attributes to Empsom does contain a series of entries on distraint for the Hilary term of 1503.<sup>4</sup> Empsom was already assessing knighthood fines in May 1501 when

<sup>1</sup> E 159/277 Comm. Pasche 16 Henry VII, r. V.

<sup>2</sup> The cases for 1501 are found in E 159/277, 278, 279.

<sup>3</sup> On this body see R. Somerville, 'Henry VII's 'Council Learned in the Law'', E.H.R. liv (1939), 427-42.

<sup>4</sup> DL 5/2, ff. 33b-39.

Sir Robert Plumpton was informed that Empsom 'with others of the king's counsell' was 'sitting for the assessing of fynes for knyghts.'<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to identify these 'others of the king's counsell' with the council learned, but its minute book records no distraint cases for this year, and when such cases appear later (in Hilary 1503), no assessment is made. Often the formula 'to be assessed' is used with regard to fines,<sup>2</sup> but actual fines or final judgments are not recorded, a practice similar to that followed in recording cases on the exchequer memoranda roll. Usually all that is noted in the minute book is that the person concerned, having been summoned by privy seal, had appeared and was to give daily attendance unless and until the council ordained otherwise. Moreover, the cases recorded in these minutes represent only a small fraction of those who were assessed in that year: the book contains only 11 of the 89 who made fines before John Walles in the Hilary and Easter terms.<sup>3</sup> Thus either the book is an incomplete account, or more probably, the council learned was being used to persuade the more unwilling souls to compound with other officials.

---

<sup>1</sup> Plumpton Correspondence, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Society, iv), 151.

<sup>2</sup> DL 5/2. A group of cases recorded between f. 34b and f. 36 use the formula 'fines assessed', but I take this to be an error. The first two cases on f. 34b have the formula 'as shalbe assessed' and after the first two on f. 36, the formula 'to be assessed', reappears and remains for the rest of the cases. The fact that the third case on f. 36 has the words 'to be' inserted in the same hand may indicate a realization on the part of the writer that his record was becoming slack and ambiguous.

<sup>3</sup> E 198/4/20, slips 7 & 33 cf. DL 5/2, ff. 33b-39.

Other officials there were, both collecting and assessing fines. A file of their lists and certificates to the exchequer shows that two men, John Walles and Thomas Hobbys played a leading part in this work.<sup>1</sup> These certificates require Master Blagge, the king's remembrancer, to stop process against the individuals named since they had 'made' their fines for knighthood with the king. Less frequently an individual is said to have 'made' his fine and 'paid' it. The making of a fine, then, does not appear to have been synonymous with paying it, and one must conclude that the making of a fine was the agreement to pay the fine assessed by the officials mentioned.

The role of these men and their relation to each other is elusive. Hobbys was not associated with this work until the Easter term of 1503 and was probably the junior partner, for John Gage paid his fine to Hobbys but had it first assessed by Walles.<sup>2</sup> Walles' seniority is also suggested by the fact that all knighthood fines paid into the chamber were entered in his name until his death.<sup>3</sup> There was a certain flexibility in arrangements, however, for Walles was still receiving fines and writing receipts as late as May 1504.<sup>4</sup> Whether intentionally

---

<sup>1</sup> E 198/4/20.

<sup>2</sup> Barbican House Muniments, Gage MSS. Box 11, no.6. Ex. inf. Dr. R. Swales.

<sup>3</sup> Walles' last payment of knighthood fines was on 16 July, 1504. Thereafter, knighthood fines were paid in by Hobbys, who in July received from the king 276 obligations passed over by Walles' executors: E 101/413/2 (vol.3), p.156 ff; Add. MS. 21480, f. 112. Several later entries in Heron's book mention Walles but in each case the money comes through Hobbys (f. 197; p. 236) and it is assumed here that this was money paid by Walles' executors or earlier by Walles himself.

<sup>4</sup> W.C. Metcalfe, Book of Knights, 224, prints a receipt of 22 May; another is to be found in E 198/4/20, slip 25.



or not, Hobbys was being groomed for the succession<sup>1</sup> and after the death of Walles appears to have carried on the work single-handed, work which indicates some earlier inefficiency on the part of Walles or the exchequer, for several of Hobbys' certificates to Blagge were to confirm that men had already paid their fines to Walles and had receipts to prove it.<sup>2</sup>

Both clerics - Hobbys may have been the dean of Westminster of that name<sup>3</sup> - were probably household officials, but whatever their office they worked with diligence and consistency. The result was that every year from 1494 onwards, money from knighthood fines flowed into the chamber and Dietz has inferred from this that there were annual distraints.<sup>4</sup> However, the summonses, the exchequer lists of those fined, the exchequer and council learned proceedings, as well as the certificates of Hobbys and Walles, all indicate that the number of distraints was limited. What Heron's accounts record is the continuous collection of fines owing from this limited number of distraints, for some men were more reluctant or less able to pay than others. For example, Thomas Pykering of Yorkshire and John Basing of Somerset were both accused of not taking up knighthood in February 1503,

---

<sup>1</sup> Heron was similarly apprenticed before taking over the chamber: A.P. Newton, 'The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors', E.H.R. xxxii (1917), 354.

<sup>2</sup> E 198/4/20, slips 8, 16, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, i. 3.

<sup>4</sup> F.C. Dietz, English Government Finance, 1485-1558, 27, cf. J.D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558, 214-5.

but Basing came to terms the following year while Pykering waited until 1506-7.<sup>1</sup> Neither death nor subsequent knighthood prevented the relentless collection of unpaid fines. Edmund Lucy of Huntingdonshire was actually knighted in the midst of proceedings against him: called before the council learned early in 1503 while still an esquire, he agreed to pay his fine in the Easter term by which time he had been knighted by the king.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, some men paid their fines in installments: John Willoughby of Nottinghamshire paid his fine in three parts, John Gage of Sussex in two and William Maleverer in two or more.<sup>3</sup>

The procedure for Henry VII's reign seems, then, to have been as follows: immediately upon receipt of the sheriffs' lists from chancery, the exchequer set about prosecuting offenders. This was a formal and blind part of the proceedings in which curious things could happen and sometimes did, as when two of the king's councillors, James Hobart, the attorney general, and Richard Empsom were summoned to appear before the exchequer for not taking knighthood in 1500.<sup>4</sup> From there on, the

<sup>1</sup> E 198/4/20, slips 17 & 25.

<sup>2</sup> DL 5/2, f. 34b; E 198/4/20, slip 7; Shaw, ii. 33. At least two others paid fines after they had been knighted: John Draycott, E 198/4/20, slip 7; Richard Willoughby, *ibid.* slip 32. For the pursuit of the fines of dead men, DL 5/2, f. 36b. Empsom and Hobart appear to have been pardoned after a number of pleadings in the exchequer, a marginal note 'fit miles' bringing the cases to an abrupt end: E 159/277 Comma. Hil. 16 Henry VIII, r. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> H.M.C. Middleton, 125. Barbican House Muniments, Gage MSS. Box 11, nos. 6 & 7 (ex. inf. R. Swales); Maleverer's receipt is printed in Metcalf, *op. cit.* 224.

<sup>4</sup> E 159/277 Comma. Mich. 1500. r. xiii. Similarly, in the reign of Henry VIII, John Gostwyk, already closely associated with Cromwell, was listed and assessed for a £10 fine: E 179/266/9A, p. 169.

individual could compound at any stage in the proceedings with the royal officials and sooner or later, under the threat of a long drawn-out exchequer case and prosecution by the council learned, did so. For some, no doubt, the threat of exchequer proceedings, or a taste of them, was enough to show that the king meant business and they quickly settled the matter. For the more stubborn souls, a sharper reminder was necessary. Nicholas Appleyard of Norfolk was one of many who fought the charges at several hearings in the exchequer court between 1501 and 1502, his case ending inconclusively in the records at the very time when he was summoned before the council learned.<sup>1</sup> Others, such as John Bracebridge of Warwickshire and Richard Thorpe of Gloucestershire were still fighting in the exchequer a year later, asking for their landed wealth to be assessed by juries of their respective counties,<sup>2</sup> and although the council learned may eventually have dealt with these also, it is clear that not even the whole apparatus of the early Tudor state could induce some men to pay promptly, for at the death of Henry VII, fines were still being collected from a considerable number of gentlemen who had not taken up knighthood in 1501.<sup>3</sup>

The deaths of Henry VII and Empson seem to have brought about a return to the more medieval practice of fining directly through the exchequer. This is the impression gained from the roll of offenders which it drew up in 1509,<sup>4</sup> for it was still in use six years later and the fines and the

---

<sup>1</sup> E 159/278, r. 2; DL 5/2, f. 36.

<sup>2</sup> E 159/278, rr. 19, 24.

<sup>3</sup> E 198/4/23.

<sup>4</sup> E 198/4/26.

dates upon which the fines were paid, or at least assessed at the end of a court case, are written beside the names. This practice was quite new in Tudor history, the former rolls only indicating by 'fi' that a person had paid. Robert Blagge, the king's remembrancer in the exchequer, who had previously been used simply to initiate and stop processes against individuals, now appears to have taken over the work of Hobbys and Walles in assessing and collecting fines, which he paid from time to time into the receipt of the exchequer rather than the chamber.<sup>1</sup> It may have been the absence of a strong minister with a will to make distraint work which let the exchequer have the whole procedure to itself, for with the rise of Cromwell the exchequer once again fades into the background.

Assessment and collection of knight's fines under Cromwell bear all the marks of efficiency which we have been led to expect of that minister. Offenders were, for the first time, assessed without having to appear and arrangements were made for them to pay their fines direct to the sheriff. Those tardy in settling their account were first chased by the sheriffs and later summoned by Privy Seal to appear before Cromwell.<sup>2</sup> He appears to have left the initial work of assessing fines and compounding to commissioners, in whose appointment he took a personal interest.<sup>3</sup> The

---

<sup>1</sup> Between 22 April 1509 and 11 July 1510 he paid in £488: E 401/1018, 22 April, 6 June; E 401/1020, 2 Oct, 11 Feb; E 401/1022, 11 July.

<sup>2</sup> Pleadings and Depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster in the time of Henry VIII, ed. H. Fishwick (Lancs. & Cheshire Rec. Soc. *xiv*), 108. L.P. Addenda, i (1), 922, 988; L.P. vi. 1659; vii. 80, 1305.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. vii. 923 (xli).

commissioners may well have performed a function similar to that of Henry VII's council learned, for lady Oxford wrote begging Cromwell to excuse one of her retainers 'from attending the King's council' because he was not worth £40 per annum.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere is the exchequer mentioned - it certainly did not receive the fines<sup>2</sup> - and one gets the impression that this is all Cromwell's work, at first personally as Master of the King's Jewel House, and later through his loyal servant Gostwyk, who was put in charge of the new treasury of First Fruits and Tenths.<sup>3</sup>

The collection of fines remained with this court until the beginning of Mary's reign when, probably in anticipation of its abolition as a court of record and reconstitution as a purely ecclesiastical office of the exchequer, other methods were devised.<sup>4</sup> The commissioners for assessing fines seem to have persuaded a large number of men to pay their fines direct to them, and this money was paid from time to time into the receipt of the exchequer.<sup>5</sup> Those who were slow in paying had their

<sup>1</sup> L.P. vi. 468.

<sup>2</sup> They do not appear on the exchequer receipt rolls for the years 1530-34: E 401/1112-1122.

<sup>3</sup> G.R. Elton, Tudor Revolution in Government, 191-2.

<sup>4</sup> The order to pay into the exchequer was made on 8 November, 1553, some months before the official reorganization: E 159/333 r. 18d or r. 115 (old or new numeration).

<sup>5</sup> E 401/1203-1212 are the receipt rolls for 1 & 2 Mary. The total paid in in this way is calculated in Bodleian Library, North MS. a 2, f. 12, printed in Herald and Genealogist, v. 19.

names notified to the exchequer<sup>1</sup> which took action on 13 June 1554 by directing writs fieri facias to the sheriffs, who were to collect the fines of the recalcitrant in the form of goods and chattells if necessary.<sup>2</sup> As a result, a number of sheriffs collected fines and paid them to the exchequer in lump sums, while some men, perhaps doubting a sheriff's honesty, paid their fines direct to the receipt, on whose records their names were enrolled.<sup>3</sup> The money was then passed over to Sir Edmund Peckham, who seems to have developed an interest in the collection of fines as well as receiving the money collected, for he has a large list of distrainees among his accounts.<sup>4</sup> Where the money went

---

<sup>1</sup> Three such lists are found in E 159/333 r. 76-78 or r. 290d, 291, 292a (old or new numeration). These early lists may record the names of men who came to the coronation in answer to the summons but who did not have the ready cash to pay the fine. Certainly they saw the commissioners, for they are described as having 'made' their fines, and a note beside the name of Olyver St. John of Clyfton records that he had already paid half his fine (r. 77). Another indication that these lists were of men who had come personally to London is that the names are not in a county order, as they would have been had they been simply the commissioners' assessments of fines following the sheriffs' returns of the knightworthy.

<sup>2</sup> E 368/336, rr. 89-89d, 93-100.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 54, n.5.

<sup>4</sup> A.P.C. 1552-4, 363; E 370/2/23. It is perhaps not surprising that a few men continued to send their money to First Fruits. Peckham's marginal notes record that certain fines are in the hands of Thomas Argall, who was keeper of the muniments of the old court and remembrancer of the new office: C.P.R. 1553-4, 6. To some extent the confusion remained, for fines levied before Mary's accession remained on the arrears of First Fruits and were due there, but although some men paid ancient debts here, one at least paid direct to the exchequer and later sent his tallies to the office of First Fruits: A.O.I. 1205/2 m. 9 (1558-9). Confusion or not, collection seems to have been quite efficient: by 1558-9, only four (Henry Bronker of Wilts, Thomas Aston of Cheshire, John Lee of Cumberland and John Broxholme of Lincs.) of the 447 men listed in a distraint list for 1547 had not paid. Another 20 from a second distraint also had fines outstanding: *Ibid*; SP 10/2, f. 97 et seq.

when it reached Peckham is not clear but he was treasurer of the queen's mints at the time and several other moneys were finding their way into his hands.<sup>1</sup> The government's motive seems clear enough, however. The principle, at least as old as the first Tudor, of having the money in some readily accessible treasury, the chamber under Henry VII, the Jewel House and First Fruits under Cromwell, was to be maintained.

One problem common to all distraints remains unsolved, whether it was in the hands of one individual like Cromwell or, as became standard procedure later, in the hands of a commissioner. What was the basis of the assessment? The fines follow a fairly standard pattern, but do not bear any obvious relationship to a man's wealth as assessed and recorded in the subsidy rolls. Yet the general impression gained from the evidence of Henry VIII's reign is that a bargain was struck between the assessor and the assessed, and the later commissions to compound again give the impression of an individual bargain. For what it is worth, the Venetian ambassador had the same impression in 1533 when he wrote that those who did not accept knighthood would have 'to pay a certain sum of money according to their revenues'.<sup>2</sup>

The ease with which men evaded being returned is difficult to assess. Both Henry VII and Cromwell complained of defective returns and issued further writs to obtain a more realistic estimate of the numbers of £40 freeholders in a county,<sup>3</sup> but this action was not universally successful.

---

<sup>1</sup> C.P.R. 1553-4, 72.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P. Venetian, 1527-33, 889.

<sup>3</sup> C.P.R. 1494-1509, 230; L.P. vi. 1160, 1534; L.P. Addenda, 1 (1), 988.

When Henry VII tried it in December 1500, three sheriffs sent virtually the same list as their predecessors,<sup>1</sup> three said they could find no more men qualified<sup>2</sup> and four more sent no returns.<sup>3</sup> The rest sent lists entirely of new names, but six of them sent three or less names each.<sup>4</sup> When the operation was repeated later that year, even fewer sheriffs cooperated: nine sent in blank returns,<sup>5</sup> another nine appear to have neglected to do even this,<sup>6</sup> and the sheriff of Yorkshire simply sent in the two previous lists combined. Cromwell seems to have been troubled with a similar shrieval reticence, but was less willing to leave matters there, and went so far as to send a list of those who~~h~~ he thought should have been included.<sup>7</sup> In this he occasionally received help from informants, some of whom may have been anxious to settle old scores with local enemies. In 1533 Richard Wharton sent Cromwell a list of four men from his locality whom the sheriff had omitted from his list, and asked, with suitable gifts, for protection for a friend.<sup>8</sup> The sheriffs and their helpers were neither infallible, nor perhaps impartial, in drawing up their lists, a fault which they inherited from

---

<sup>1</sup> E 159/277 Comma. Mich. 1500, Comma. Hil. 1501. Lancs. Notts./Derbs., Rutland.

<sup>2</sup> Gloucs. Som./Dors. Worces.

<sup>3</sup> Northumberland, Westmorland, Cinque Ports and Kent.

<sup>4</sup> Heref. & Midx. (1 each), Ox/Berks, Salop. Surrey/Sussex (2 each), Wilts. (3).

<sup>5</sup> E 159/280 Comma. Mich. 1501; E 198/4/19. Cambs/Hunts. Cornwall, Devon, Heref. Kent, Mdx. Salop. Som/Dors. Worces.

<sup>6</sup> Gloucs. Lancs. Lincs. Notts/Derbs. Northumberland, Surrey/Sussex, Hants. Warw/Leics. Westmorland.

<sup>7</sup> L.P. vii. 123; L.P. Addenda . i (1), 922.

<sup>8</sup> L.P. vi. 1534.



their medieval forbears.<sup>1</sup> Sheriffs were obviously subject, and often susceptible, to pressure. In 1533 Sir Thomas Elyot informed Cromwell that he had used his under-sheriff to compile a list of knightworthy men, and one Wharton's name had been included. Since then however 'some worshipful men' had assured Elyot that Wharton was not worth £40 per annum. The 'worshipful men' must have worked hard on Elyot, for he pleads Wharton's case eloquently, claiming for Wharton the additional distress of many sons to educate and especially many daughters to marry, 'which, as ye well know, be great corrosives of a little substance.'<sup>2</sup> Pressure of a political nature was brought to bear upon William More, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1558. Richard Bydon begins his letter to the sheriff by pledging his and his friends' voices for the sheriff's candidate at the forthcoming election, and then begs that he may not be put on the 'retorn for such gentyman that ar mete to make fyne for ther knyghthod'.<sup>3</sup>

When a sheriff could, he probably listed those who were too large to be missed or too small to matter to him personally and hoped for the best. If sheriffs helped their neighbours, they also believed that charity began at home. Fourteen left themselves off the 1509 list<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> An under-sheriff was removed in 1293 for constructing a distraint list according to the response to his demand for bribes: Select Cases in the Exchequer of Pleas, ed. H. Jenkinson & B. Formoy (Selden Soc. xlviii), 147-8.

<sup>2</sup> L.P. vi. 575.

<sup>3</sup> H.M.C. 7th Report, Appendix, 614.

<sup>4</sup> E 198/4/27.

although some of them had been considered knightworthy in previous distraints, and similarly, some of those who did not return themselves in 1503 were listed in 1509. For example, Edward Bulstrode, sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and Christopher Druell, sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire did not return themselves in 1503, but were on the list of 1509,<sup>1</sup> while Humphrey Hercy of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, who left his name off the return for Michaelmas 1500, was returned by the next sheriff and again in 1509.<sup>2</sup> Not all sheriffs were content simply to avoid the fine: one was accused of pocketing a knight-hood fine in 1533 and a clerk of the county of Yorkshire was accused of collecting too much from one man, and of charging others who were not on the distraint lists at all, during Mary's reign.<sup>3</sup> Only at times of great activity on the part of the central authorities can there have been anything like a realistic return and even then partiality cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, some men were consistently returned during their lifetimes; John Talbot of Salebury, Lancashire, is a good example, having been fined in three distraints between 1533 and 1548.<sup>4</sup> In Yorkshire, 39 men were fined twice between 1500 and 1509 and two were fined on three occasions. Similarly, ten men from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, eight from Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire and at least

---

<sup>1</sup> E 198/4/21; E 198/4/26.

<sup>2</sup> E 159/227 Comma. Mich. 1500 r. xiii; *ibid.* Comma. Hil. 1501 r. xlvi d; E 198/4/26.

<sup>3</sup> Fishwick, *op. cit.* 108; Sta. Cha. 4/2/4. Ex. inf. D.F. Corcos.

<sup>4</sup> S.P. 4/104, ff. 239b-294; E 101/520/28, m.8; S.P. 10/2, f. 99.

five from Somerset and Dorset were fined twice during the period.<sup>1</sup>

It is even more difficult to assess how much money the governments made by way of fines. Between Dec<sup>ember</sup>/ 1502 and July 1505 the treasurer of the chamber received £3,647.7.0 in knighthood fines from Hobbys and Walles,<sup>2</sup> but how much was collected in the rest of Henry VII's reign cannot be determined. His son's coronation distraint had realised £662 by 1514 and although 70 names appear to have been written off through death, pardon or knighthood, a further 184 men had yet to make their fines. If these were pursued to the end, the final figure may have reached £1,000.<sup>3</sup> This was very small beer indeed by the side of Cromwell's distraints. Fines assessed in a distraint book of 1532 amount to more than £6,000<sup>4</sup> and from what is known of that of 1533, the sum should have been even higher in that year.<sup>5</sup> If the additions of 1534 and 1535 and the further

---

<sup>1</sup> E 159/4/19; E 159/4/21; E 159/4/23; E 159/4/26. The three distraints of 1500-1 have been regarded as one for the purposes of these figures. Men were often returned more than once between 1500 and 1501 (as in Yorkshire) but appear only to have been fined once: the sheriffs of Notts and Derby sent in virtually identical lists in Michaelmas 1500 and Hilary 1501 but an exchequer paper of 1509 distinguishes between those returned on both lists (referring to the date of their refusal as Michaelmas 16H7) and those who, like George Chaworth, only appear on the second (said to have refused at Purification 16H7): E 159/277 Comma. Mich. 1500, r. xiii; *ibid.* Comma. Hil. 1501, r. xlvi d; E 198/4/23.

<sup>2</sup> E 101/413/2 (vol.3), *passim*. A further £750 paid in by Hobbys and Walles without description may have been knighthood fines.

<sup>3</sup> E 198/4/26.

<sup>4</sup> E 179/266/9A. For the dating of this book, see below, pp. 67-69.

<sup>5</sup> *L.P. Addenda*, i. 877. This estimate on 1,010 names cannot refer to the previous book, which contains about 700. 425 had either paid fines or made them by obligation and the amount due from them was over £4,500. If the remaining 585 paid roughly the same amount, about £9,000 would have accrued.

possible distraint of 1537 be added,<sup>1</sup> the total yields during the thirties might have been as much as £18,000. These are maximum figures, however. By the end of 1532, for example, £2,180 of the £6,000 had not been collected<sup>2</sup> although the survival of only small lists of debtors leads to the conclusion<sup>that</sup>/persistency won the day. In some cases, the gradual collection of fines can be shown to have taken place. In 1536, Gostwyk totted up £290 due by obligations for fines for knighthood from 33 men, and by 1558/9 the accounts of the office of First Fruits note that only three of these obligations (£18.6.8) were outstanding.<sup>3</sup> Less is known about the knighthood fines levied under Edward VI but one list contained 447 names,<sup>4</sup> and assuming that the 27 debtors recorded in 1558/9<sup>5</sup> had average fines, and assuming that the rest had been collected, the yield would have been about £1,400. How many names were in the second distraint we have no way of telling, but it seems clear that only 22 people<sup>6</sup> from both distraints had not paid by 1558/9, so that a sum of about £2,000 may have been realised from the two distraints. Mary did rather better, probably collecting over £5,000. Chidiock Wardour added up a total of

---

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Elton, Tudor Revolution in Government, 432.

<sup>3</sup> S.P. 4/ 104, f. 293b-294; E 101/520/28, m. 8; A.O.I./1205/2, r. 8. An additional £5 due from Richard Archer of Tamworth also appears in this First Fruits list of outstanding obligations. Possibly it is Gostwyk's clerical error, or possibly an obligation made after 1536. His name is not to be found either in the 1532 distraint list or in Gostwyk's list of 1536, as the others are.

<sup>4</sup> S.P. 10/2, f. 97 et. seq.

<sup>5</sup> A.O.I. 1205/2, r. 9-9d; E 101/520/28, r. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid: five of the 27 debtors paid that year: see foot of the account.

over £4,900 paid into the receipt of the exchequer, £3,292 by the commissioners and the rest paid in by individuals, often through the sheriffs.<sup>1</sup> A cursory check shows that he missed some payments, however: the sheriff of Suffolk is noted to have paid £21.13.4 on behalf of John Southwell and others, and an entry to this effect appears in the exchequer receipt rolls for 24 November, 1554, but three days earlier the sheriff had paid in £55.6.4 for Robert Gardnysshe and others, and Wardour did not spot this.<sup>2</sup> A similar omission is to be found in the Lincolnshire section where Wardour records £10.3.4 paid in by the sheriff on May 7, 1555<sup>3</sup> but not an earlier £90 paid in on 29 October, 1554.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, there are no entries in Wardour's list for Somerset and Dorset, yet men in these counties paid their fines: the sheriff paid in £30 on 28 February 1555, and in all had £106 charged to his account.<sup>5</sup> There seems little doubt that the exchequer eventually got its money.

Evidence is so lacking with regard to fines at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign<sup>6</sup> that one historian avers that by this time the whole system of fining had come to an end.<sup>7</sup> If this were so, no hint of a change in policy had reached the shires, where men were busy insuring

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian Library, North MS. a. 2, ff. 12-15, printed in Herald and Genealogist, v. 18-24.

<sup>2</sup> E 401/1207.

<sup>3</sup> E 401/1210.

<sup>4</sup> E 401/1207.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid; E 368/336, r. 96. Many sheriffs were charged in this way, rr. 89-100.

<sup>6</sup> There is no evidence of their being paid either into the receipt of the exchequer nor into the department of First Fruits.

<sup>7</sup> F.M. Nichols, 'On feudal and obligatory knighthood', Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), 233.

themselves against likely fines.<sup>1</sup> Such moves are not evidence that the fines were levied, however, and the lack of such evidence is puzzling. The commissioners may have paid the money into some unknown treasury, as Peckham eventually did. On the other hand, the second commission may indicate that the first had not been effective and the second may have been no more successful. On the whole, the distrains of the earlier Tudors appear to have been more profitable.

More profitable may not necessarily mean more successful, for if it was the object of a summons to provide the country with more knights, then success might be judged by the number which the government did not need to fine. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the purpose of distraint under the Tudors.

During the thirteenth century, distraint had been used to provide the king with knights for his army and proclamations were made especially in time of military need. The practice declined in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries because there was less need for the armed knight in the new armies, and increasingly general summons were used only in connexion with a great ceremonial occasion such as a coronation, or the elevation of a prince to a new title. It has been suggested that the purpose of these summonses was to obtain new knights to add dignity and splendour to the event. It is thought, however, that even in the fifteenth century there may have been some attempt to add to the knightly

---

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C. 7th Report, Appendix, 614.

class for the purposes of local administration in this way.<sup>1</sup>

As table D shows, Henry VII cannot have viewed the general summons as a means of obtaining knights to enhance a ceremonial occasion, the dates of the proposed knighthoods in no way coinciding with a great event. It is unlikely that these summonses had military significance, not only because knights had ceased to have an important function in the army but also because there seems to have been no great military need in these years. This leaves two possibilities: Henry was trying either to augment the knightage for the purposes of local administration, or to supplement his revenue. If the former was his aim he was singularly unsuccessful, for no knight was made on or around the dates specified. That distraint was a means of encouraging men into local administration is a doubtful proposition. Although many distrainees were on few if any local commissions, an almost equally large number appear to have been active. Half of the 78 men to be found in the last seven counties on the exchequer distraint list of 1509 served as justices of the peace in the five years before or after their fine and 17 out of 53 were sheriffs in the twenty years surrounding that date.<sup>2</sup> In 1532 the same counties yielded 109 men of whom 49 served on commissions of

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, pp. 71-81, 103-117, 170-181; S. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 276; Watson, 151, takes a similar view of sixteenth century distraints.

<sup>2</sup> E 198/4/26 (Sussex, Hants, Warwks, Leics, Wilts, Worces, Westmorland); C.P.R. 1494-1509, Appendix; L.P. 1 (2) Appendix 1; P.R.O. Sheriffs. No sheriffs are listed for Worces. and Westmorland and distrainees from these counties have thus been omitted from that calculation.

the peace or other important commissions between 1527 and 1537, while 16 of 92 had been pricked as sheriff a total of 26 times between 1522 and 1542.<sup>1</sup> And these counties are not unusual: the first six counties on the list of 1509 (excluding Yorkshire) provide 60 distrainees of whom 33 were justices of the peace in the years immediately following, and random figures for the previous reign give a similar picture: in 1500, fifteen gentlemen from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire were fined and seven of them were justices, while six of the 17 distrainees from Somerset and Dorset were equally active.<sup>2</sup> For such men the fine was not a means of commuting out of the duties of local government but an extra-parliamentary tax to which there was no option. The way in which both chancery and exchequer assumed that all those listed had not responded to the summons suggests that the proclamation gave men neither the right nor the opportunity to be knighted and that words such as 'refusal' (used, for example, by John Gage's receiver in recording his master's fine)<sup>3</sup> were simply part of an accepted jargon. It is difficult otherwise to explain why men like Gage and Edmund Lucy accepted

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/266/9A (See below, pp.67-69 for a discussion on the dating of this document); L.P. iv. (1) 1610 g. 11; (1) 2002 gg. 6, 11; (1) 961 g. 20; (3) 5443 g. 28; ibid. v. 166 gg. 10, 15, 16, 17, 44, 45; 838 gg. 18, 26; 766 g. 38; ibid. vii. 1498 g. 22; ibid. viii. 1499 gg. 45, 60, 62, 77, 82; ibid. x. 1192 gg. 1, 2; ibid. xii (1) 539 gg. 2, 4; (2) 1150 g. 20; ibid. xiii (1) 384 gg. 20, 21, 80; (1) 1539 g. 9; (1) 190 g. 4; (1) 646 g. 33.

<sup>2</sup> E. 198/4/26 (Beds. Berks. Bucks. Cambs. Derbs. Notts.); L.P. i (2), Appendix 1; E 198/4/23; C.P.R. 1494-1509, Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Barbican House Muniments, Gage MS. Box 11, no. 6.



the honour so soon after their refusal.<sup>1</sup> Of course, men may change their minds with their circumstances but it hardly seems likely that not one of the several hundred men returned between September 1500 and August 1501 was prepared to accept a knighthood.<sup>2</sup>

In 1533, both the Spanish and the Venetian ambassadors had the impression that a literal refusal was possible, Chapuys speaking of 'those who refuse' being fined, and Capello of 'those who will not accept the dignity.' They were, however, foreigners, not necessarily well-acquainted with English procedure, and their testimony should be treated with caution. The need for caution is underlined by the fact that in the same letter Chapuys writes: 'Parliament has again chosen a number of its members on whom the king is to confer knighthoods' and further that not only those refusing, but those accepting are to be mulcted.<sup>3</sup>

Later summonses may have had no more literal meaning attached to them <sup>than</sup> ~~as~~ those of Henry VII, although there is rather more correspondence between the date specified in the proclamation and the ceremonial occasion,

---

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 51. Gage was also subsequently knighted although the date is uncertain: H.M.C. 3rd Report, Appendix, 224.

<sup>2</sup> See table D for sources. Shaw gives no knighthoods between these dates and while his sources are not impeccable for this period it seems improbable that the knighting of a group of men at one time, which general proclamations imply, would have been omitted. Only the response to the general summons is discussed here. It is true that men refused knighthood of the Bath (14 out of 33 summoned in 1494: C.C.R. 1485-1500, 797; Shaw, i. 144) and the great expenses of this ceremony probably accounts for the reluctance of some gentlemen to accept the order on these terms and their willingness to become knights bachelor later, e.g. John Montgomery was made a knight bachelor three years later: Shaw, ii. 29. The question of the expense of the different ceremonies is discussed in ch. VI.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P. Spanish, 1531-3, p. 821; C.S.P. Venetian, 1527-33, 889.

notably in 1509, 1533, and probably in 1546/7, 1553 and 1558.<sup>1</sup> But there were probably three other distrainments, in 1532 or a little earlier, in 1537 and in 1547/8, for which there was no ceremonial justification. The evidence for these distrainments, and the period 1530-48 in general, deserves closer examination.

No writ or return for knighthood between 1509 and 1533 seems to have survived, yet some time between 1530 and 1532 a distrainment took place, for an account of Cromwell's for the period 29 September to 17 December 1532 has annexed to it a schedule which includes an item for £2,180 for knighthood fines assessed by Cromwell but not yet collected.<sup>2</sup> Warrants to compound with, and assess, esquires for the order of knighthood (recorded in a catalogue of papers which came into Cromwell's hands between 1530 and 1532), again point to a distrainment before the end of 1532.<sup>3</sup> The actual assessment list for this distrainment seems to survive. It is all that remains of a larger paper book, beginning with folio 106 on which is written in an apparently contemporary hand the note, 'The sesstment for thordre of knighthod'.<sup>4</sup> Listed by counties, every name has a sum of money against it, a departure from

---

<sup>1</sup> No writs for 1547, 1553 and 1558 have been found, but other records suggest that the summonses of 1553 and 1558 were timed to coincide with the coronations: the exchequer records speak of fines for failing to be made knights at the coronation of Mary, and Richard Bydon's letter was written well before the coronation of Elizabeth: H.M.C. 7th Report, Appendix, 614.

<sup>2</sup> SP 1/72, ff. 156-7, printed in G.R. Elton, Tudor Revolution in Government, 431-2.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. vii. 923 (xli).

<sup>4</sup> E 179/266/9A.

earlier practice where the sums do not appear to have been assessed until the person presented himself, and then only noted on the list of 1509.<sup>1</sup> From the 734 names, it is possible to determine that the book must have been drawn up before 1534 when at least one of them had died, not to be succeeded by an heir of the same name.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the list cannot be the assessment for the coronation distraint of 1533, since it contains some who were knighted at that coronation, a point in itself unremarkable save for the fact that some of them can be shown to have paid their fines for not assuming the order according to the proclamation. Thomas Metham and Christopher Danby, both of Yorkshire are noted to have paid half their assessed fines, yet both were knighted on 25 May 1533.<sup>3</sup> A number of others knighted at this coronation are probably noted in the Sesstment to have paid their fines in full, for they have dots by the side of their names.<sup>4</sup> A list of outstanding obligations for fines, drawn up in 1536,<sup>5</sup> contains only those names from

---

<sup>1</sup> E 198/4/26.

<sup>2</sup> Roger Rokelely of Yorks (ex. inf. Dr. R. Smith); cf. Glover's Visitation of Yorkshire, ed. J. Foster, 343.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. vi. 601 (4).

<sup>4</sup> For example, Walter Hobart of Norfolk, John Harcourt of Staffs, Thomas Lakyn of Shropshire, Christopher Hilliarde of Yorks, Robert Hesketh of Lancs: L.P. vi. 601 (4). College of Arms MS. Partition Tpe. H.8. Usq. An. R. Eliz. f. 48b; College of Arms MS. Partition Book Temp. Hen. VIII & Ed. VI. ff. 22-22b, 33b-36 show that the L.P. list of coronation knights, which contains a large number of men not found in Shaw, is to be trusted except that Richard Houghton had been knighted earlier (see table A).

<sup>5</sup> S.P. 4/104, ff. 293b-294. This document also contains names not in the Sesstment as it is a summary of outstanding fines from several distraints of the period.

the Sesstment that have no dot against them, while Thomas Metham of Metham, Yorks, who is recorded in the Sesstment as having paid half his £20 fine, is found to be owing £10 in the list of 1536, and John Harrington of Rutland, who owed £20 on the Sesstment, owed only £10 in 1536. He presumably paid his first installment when the Sesstment was no longer being used as a record of receipts. Only one name (Richard Tresham of Newton, Northants) presents difficulty. Shown in the Sesstment to have paid £5 of his £15 fine, he is still said to be owing £15 in 1536. This may be a clerical error, or it may be that record of Tresham's first payment had been mislaid. It would not have been the first time, for Hobbys had encountered such cases in the previous reign.<sup>1</sup> Finally, accepting the theory that the dots represent fines paid, the total of fines outstanding is £2,176.13.4, near enough to the £2,180 said to be owing in Cromwell's account of late 1532,<sup>2</sup> to suggest that a dot meant that a man had paid and that it was from the Sesstment that Cromwell was working in 1532.

Next year, with a coronation to justify it, a further general summons was issued and 1,010 names were returned.<sup>3</sup> Letters to sheriffs during the next two years, exhorting them to search out those who had not yet paid fines, suggesting names and fines of others not in the

---

<sup>1</sup> E 198/4/20, slips 8, 16, 26. Alternatively, Tresham may have been fined a second time between 1532 and 1535, possibly in the coronation distraint.

<sup>2</sup> Elton, op. cit. 432.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. Addenda, i. 877.

original returns and encouraging them, as late as 1535, to find still more names to add to the list,<sup>1</sup> give the impression of a continuing distraint and suggest a deliberate revival of Henry VII's distraint policy as an attempt to replenish the royal coffers rather than a genuine attempt to find knights to make. And it is perhaps not without significance that it was to Cromwell that Richard Wright pointed in justification of reviving distraint of knighthood in 1630.<sup>2</sup> In at least one respect, then, Thomas Cromwell's rise saw what Professor Elton calls 'a partial return to the policy of Henry VII'.<sup>3</sup> But it was not simply at his accession to power that Cromwell used these old and tried methods. When the treasury of First Fruits began its work in 1535, it took over the responsibility of collecting knighthood fines and by 1536 treasurer Gostwyk had made an attempt to sort out fines still owing and among them is one of £3.6.8 for John Talbot of Salebury, Lancs.<sup>4</sup> A later First Fruits list of debtors also includes Talbot, this time for £6.13.4, this fine also having been assessed by Cromwell.<sup>5</sup> Since Talbot is not included in the Sesstment, he must have been fined in 1533 and on a subsequent occasion. It is hardly likely that he was fined twice between 1533 and 5 since the letters to the sheriffs do not mention a second fine. Furthermore, since the £6.13.4 does not appear on the list of 1536 it must have been assessed afterwards, a conclusion strengthened

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 922, 988; L.P. vi. 1534.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1629-31, 147.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 146.

<sup>4</sup> SP 104, ff. 293b-294.

<sup>5</sup> A.O.I. 1205/2, rr. 7-7b.

by the fact that the list upon which it does appear states that the fine was assessed by the late lord Cromwell:<sup>1</sup> Thomas Cromwell was created a baron on 9 July, 1536.

Thus either late in 1536, or more probably later, Cromwell was once more engaged in applying the old remedies. The most likely time for this would be the proposed coronation of Queen Jane. The making of knights of the Bath was envisaged for this occasion<sup>2</sup> and it is quite probable that a general summons also went out, the returns of which Cromwell used as occasion to fine Talbot amongst others. The fact that the coronation did not take place need not have stopped him from doing this for, as we have seen, he had already fined without ceremonial justification in 1531/2. Thomas Cromwell, at least in this aspect of his revenue policy, continued to be a conservative, albeit an efficient one. And there can be little doubt, even with regard to the coronation distraint of 1533, that his main, if not his sole, aim was to raise revenue.

The deplorable state of royal finances might also explain the proclamation to become knights at the end of Henry VIII's reign.<sup>3</sup> This was probably in connexion with the proposed creation of Edward as Prince of Wales and knight of the Bath, but the king died before the date of the proposed ceremony.<sup>4</sup> It appears that the government collected what

---

<sup>1</sup> A.O.I. 1205/2, r. 7.

<sup>2</sup> L.P. Addenda, i. 1262.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MS. 34148, ff. 174-5.

<sup>4</sup> Anstis, Essay, 59.

it could on the basis of these returns, many of which would have been in before the news of the king's death, (as Cromwell had done in connexion with the abortive coronation of Queen Jane) and then proceeded with a fresh distraint of its own. This assumption is based on two pieces of evidence. The first is a list of outstanding knighthood fines for the reign of Edward VI to be found in the arrears of the First Fruits foreign fines for the year 1558-9.<sup>1</sup> This contains some names which are recorded in a book of those fined for not taking up knighthood in the first year of Edward's reign, but also many others. Clearly the First Fruits list contains arrears from two sources, only one of which has been found, and it is reasonable to assume that two distraints are involved. It is, of course, possible to dismiss this evidence by assuming that the ambiguous 'have not yet compounded for their fines' of the book of names means that these men had not 'made' or agreed to a fine assessed by the commissioner, and that those whose names are not included in it but appear in the later debtors list are those who had already 'made' their fines when the book was drawn up but never paid them. But even if this were so, it would not affect a second piece of evidence suggesting two distraints. Edward's commission to compound, dated February 15, 1547 says that the king, (not the late king) had sent out writs for men to present themselves by Candlemas next, that is, 2 February, 1548.<sup>2</sup> It may not be without significance that the writ cited in this patent used 'Candlemas', whereas the writ of November 1546 used the alternative name

---

<sup>1</sup> A.O.I. 1205/2, r. 9-9b; S.P. 10/2, f. 97 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> C.P.R. 1547-8, 185-6.

of Purification.<sup>1</sup> The alternative assumption is that Edward's advisers managed to issue a writ some time between Henry's death on January 28 and February 1, leaving no time for the sheriffs to receive the writs, make proclamation, and summon individuals before the date required. This seems unlikely, especially as the privy council minutes give no indication of such an unusual move having been discussed. Knighthood fines are mentioned, but not until February 2, when a commission was appointed.<sup>2</sup> No doubt these commissioners dealt with both sets of distrainees.

The fact that the first three Tudors issued proclamations to become knights at times when no knights were made, as well as the way in which the fines were eagerly and, on the whole efficiently collected, suggests that they did not intend the invitations to be taken literally on these occasions. It does not dispose of the possibility that when the summons coincided with a coronation exactly, as it did in 1509 and 1533 and probably in 1553 and 1559, the government chose some to be knighted from the sheriffs' lists, or at any rate from those who obeyed the summons. Some contemporaries, at least, held this view.

The London chronicler, writing of the summons of 1509, says that the sheriffs were to compile lists from which the king would choose such as he would knight.<sup>3</sup> The writs are silent on this point and the chronicler may not have been too well informed. He was unaware that

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 34148, f. 174.

<sup>2</sup> A.P.C. 1547-50, 10.

<sup>3</sup> The Great Chronicle of London, ed. A.H. Thomas & I.D. Thornley, 339.



his sheriffs, anticipating fines rather than knighthoods, claimed exemption for Londoners and returned no names.<sup>1</sup> Nor was he aware that the majority of the unknighthed sheriffs of 1509 shared the views of their London brethren sufficiently to omit their own names from the lists of knightworthy gentlemen they returned.<sup>2</sup> Nor could he know that these lists were passed to the exchequer for action without indicating those whom the king would knight at the coronation, nor that a number not returned were nevertheless knighted,<sup>3</sup> nor that all those knighted were summoned not by the sheriff but by letters missive, for all were made knight of the Bath save the sheriff of London and he, as we have seen, was not summoned by his sheriffs.

The charge of ignorance cannot be levelled at the third earl of Derby, however, and the position may have changed between 1509 and 1533 when he wrote to Cromwell observing that many of his friends, neighbours and servants were coming to London 'partly to fyn, and the other part to be put in the order to be made knyghts', and offering a list (unfortunately missing) of those whom he considered 'vere mete for the order to be made by the King's grace with the Sworde, and the Residue to be put to their fynes.'<sup>4</sup> Unless Derby was completely misinformed, then, some

---

<sup>1</sup> E 198/4/27. Medieval sheriffs of London had also made evasive replies (Thrupp, *op. cit.* 276-7), but this is the only Tudor one I have found.

<sup>2</sup> Only one unknighthed sheriff returned himself: John Momperson of Wilts: E 198/4/27.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid; E 198/4/26; those knighted were lords Fitz Hugh and Daubeney, Henry Clifford, Thomas Knyvett, Richard Wentworth, George Hastings, John Trevanyon and Stephen Jenyns. Shaw, i. 148-9. Jenyns was not made a knight of the Bath as Shaw suggests: see p. 98, n.5.

<sup>4</sup> Correspondence of Edward, Third Earl of Derby, ed. T.N. Toller (Chetham Society, N.S. xix), 121.

gentlemen took their summons literally and their doing so did not occasion surprised comment. There is no way of telling whether the earl felt constrained to nominate only those who had been summoned, for neither his list nor the sheriff's survives. In any case, it is hardly likely that the Henry VIII of 1533 would have allowed his choice to be restricted by the returns when he had not done so in his youth. If men did obey the summons, it was in hope rather than in certainty, for Derby's letter shows plainly that the choice remained firmly in the hands of the government, that choice being influenced more by its opinion of the individual than his inclusion on the sheriffs' return, an opinion probably susceptible to the influence of the powerful local magnate.<sup>1</sup>

But while this relegates a general summons which coincided with a ceremonial occasion to a very low place in the table of selection procedures, it does not eliminate it entirely, and the evidence of subsequent Tudor coronations confirms Derby's reading of the situation in 1533. It is significant that Derby mentions only knights to be made with the sword. Knights of the Bath, he well knew from personal experience, had been chosen earlier and summoned by letters missive.<sup>2</sup> If the ceremony of 1494 is any guide, letters missive were sent out more than a month before the ceremony,<sup>3</sup> at a time when the sheriffs' returns

---

<sup>1</sup> Derby was something more than a local magnate at this time, being in great favour at court. It was in his barge that Anne Boleyn was conveyed from Greenwich to the coronation, and he and the earl of Wiltshire supported the royal infant's train at the coronation: *ibid.* pp. iv-v. This would explain why he particularly felt able to suggest names.

<sup>2</sup> He was to be a knight of the Bath at this coronation: Shaw, i. 149.

<sup>3</sup> C.C.R. 1485-1500, 797.

had not normally been received. It seems that the government relied on other information. A book drawn up in 1501 from which prospective knights of the Bath were selected contains lists of knightworthy gentlemen by county together with their estimated annual revenues and, in many cases, a list of the resident noblemen and knights.<sup>1</sup> This was much more comprehensive information than the list of names a sheriff was asked to furnish in connexion with a general summons. Who supplied it is not clear but the Norfolk section contains the names of at least three gentlemen who escaped the three sheriffs' returns between 1500 and 1501.<sup>2</sup> A two-part list for the previous year<sup>3</sup> which differs from that of 1501 in a number of small details - three names and Thomas Woodhouse's annual revenue are different - suggests that the government made an attempt to keep its lists up to date, and this method of selection and summoning appears to have been followed throughout the Tudor period. In 1553 and 1558 the earl of Arundel received commissions which made a similar distinction.<sup>4</sup> Issued on the eve of each coronation, they empowered

---

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 6166, ff. 50-64.

<sup>2</sup> John Heveningham, Thomas Blacke, David Orwell. Cf. E 159/277 Comma. Mich. 1500, Comma. Hil. 1501; E 159/280 Comma. Mich. 1501.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by R.H. Mason, History of Norfolk, 110-111. Mason conjectured that the second part, called a certificate, which contains the sums of money by the side of each name, 'probably refers to money lent to the king' (*ibid.* 111, n.1) but in view of the correspondence between these sums and the annual revenues recorded in Harl. MS. 6166, and the use in both cases of the term 'certificate' and the fact that none of the sums goes below £40, it is more reasonable to conclude that it is of the same genre as Harl. MS. 6166, ff. 50-64.

<sup>4</sup> C.P.R. 1553-4, 72; C.P.R. 1558-9, 70; printed in full in Anstis, Appendix, 51-52, 56-57.

Arundel not only to make knights of the Bath who had already been 'specially called for that purpose' but also 'so many other persons knights ... as by us shall be named or by himself may be thought mete'. In both commissions Arundel was given a round figure which he was not to exceed, sixty in 1553 and thirty in 1559. Evidently the crown had not yet closed its list of knights bachelor and was still open to the suggestions of courtiers and possibly the claims of those who were arriving in response to the general summons. It may be for this reason that Arundel was given his limited discretionary powers. In 1553, it seems, he had a hard time exercising them, for he exceeded his commission and was granted another to cover the 111 who received the order at his hands.<sup>1</sup>

The large numbers of gentlemen who became knights in 1553 and 1547<sup>2</sup> may represent a minor revolt on the part of the landed gentry who resented having to pay a fine with so little option and the weakness of the government in both these years may account for their comparative success. It remains to ask why the Tudors preferred this rather untidy system to that of summoning all coronation knights by letters missive, as Nichols suggested.<sup>3</sup> There are two (probably complementary) answers.

---

<sup>1</sup> Arundel's second commission is calendared in C.P.R. 1553-4, 72. He knighted 79 on Oct. 2, 14 on Oct. 19 and 3 on Oct. 20, as well as 15 knights of the Bath on Sept. 29. Even if the 60 mentioned in the first commission refers only to ordinary knights, Arundel well exceeded his original brief.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, ii, 59-60, 66-69.

<sup>3</sup> F.M. Nichols, 'On feudal and obligatory knighthood', Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), 233.

One concerns the nature of the two ceremonies: that of the Bath was complex, costly and required preparation. Those who were to be made needed warning in advance to bring considerable fees payable at the time and those in charge of preparations needed to know exactly how many baths, beds, horses, pages and esquires to provide as well as how many garments, the size and quality of which depended both on the physique and degree of the participant.<sup>1</sup> Such things could not be left to the last minute. On the other hand, there was little preparation needed for the simple dubbing of a knight bachelor and decisions about whom to knight could be made, if necessary, on the spur of the moment.

But this explains why the crown was able to wait until the last minute rather than why it did so. Perhaps it did because it could, with all the politician's delight of keeping options open as long as possible. It would at least ensure that nobody of real importance in the shires had been omitted. In addition it gave a semblance of justice to the fines which were to follow if it appeared that some, at least, who came in answer to the proclamation really were chosen. The chances of being selected in this way may have been slender, for it is unlikely that the government had no idea at all about who was to be knighted and some evidence of the existence of provisional lists exists. When commissions oyer and terminer were issued on 9 February, 1547, Thomas Gyfford and Edmund Molyneux were both styled knights, yet they

---

<sup>1</sup> See chapter VI.

did not receive the honour until the coronation.<sup>1</sup> These may have been clerical errors, but it is also possible that the government informed chancery in advance to avoid the necessity of issuing new commissions after the coronation. On occasion, however, chancery could be misinformed, as in the case of Humphrey Conningsby who was styled 'knight' in a commission of the peace some time after Mary's coronation but was never knighted.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, while the general summons to accept knighthood under the Tudors must be regarded as a device for extracting money from the country gentry, especially when the date for taking the order did not coincide with a ceremonial occasion, it may have served a dual purpose at coronation times. Although the sheriffs' returns were still used only for fining purposes, anyone who appeared in response to the proclamation received at least symbolic consideration, and maybe something more. But if the subject had the right to accept, the crown still reserved the right to refuse. Hence Richard Bydon, writing to his sheriff in 1558 thought that the returns included only 'such gentylmen that ar mete to make fyne for ther Knyghthod'.<sup>3</sup> Had his name been included, he would in due course have been fined for his refusal to take up knighthood, but the refusal would in reality have been the crown's. As Sir Thomas Smith remarked, some 'who for causes are not thought worthy of that honour and

---

<sup>1</sup> C.P.R. 1547-48, 75; Shaw, i. 151; ii. 59; College of Arms MS. Partition Book Tpe. H.8. Usq. An. R. Eliz. f. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. inf. Miss N. Fuidge.

<sup>3</sup> H.M.C. 7th Report, Appendix, 614.

yet have abilitie, neither be made knights; though they would, and yet pay the fine.'<sup>1</sup> 'Many are called but few are chosen', so hotly debated by the theologians of the time, is capable of as many shades of meaning when applied to Tudor distraint. The nature of distraint is important not only intrinsically but also because it has a direct bearing upon the status of knighthood. If refusals were genuine and numerous, knighthood cannot have been highly prized. This is difficult to believe of a title-conscious age even when explained in terms of burdensome duties and expense. But such an exercise is unnecessary if the gentry had no choice but to pay their fines, and the historian must look elsewhere for an index of the esteem in which the order was held. Knighthood was a prize, not a punishment.

There were no more knighthood fines after the coronation of Elizabeth until the famous distraint of 1630. Why did they die out in the second half of the sixteenth century? By the sixteenth century, the general invitation to take up knighthood was much more usual and, doubtless fines were paid with better grace, at a coronation, royal marriage or creation. Although Cromwell and possibly Somerset revived the policy of distraint without ceremonial justification, it could never have been popular. There is, at any rate, no evidence to suggest that this type of distraint was carried out or even contemplated after 1548. Perhaps the numbers who arrived to avoid further fines by taking knighthood in 1547 and 1553 taught those in power a lesson, or maybe the vast numbers dubbed at

---

<sup>1</sup> De Republica Anglorum, 23.

various times in the 1540's and early 1550's left relatively few, at least for a generation, who could be subjected to the fine and thus the government abandoned the non-ceremonial distraint as unprofitable as well as unpopular. And there was no other type of distraint which Elizabeth could have employed: her marriage policy saw to that. Thus, although Sir Thomas Smith admitted the possibility of men being fined for not taking up knighthood in his book published in the middle of the reign, Coke, nearer the end, was able to state that 'we see by common experience in these times ... none is forced or compelled' to become a knight.<sup>1</sup>

Coke was not universally believed, however. When James I issued the familiar summons with its threat of action upon the disobedient, at least one unknighthed sheriff took the precaution of leaving his name off the return.<sup>2</sup> He was not unwise, for six days after the accession of James I, Chidiock Wardour, the clerk of the pells, had completed a study of distraint under Mary.<sup>3</sup> Wardour may have been interested to know how much work the coronation would give his department, but it seems more likely that a higher official, perhaps the lord treasurer, had asked for

---

<sup>1</sup> Reports, vii. f. 27b.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 38, f. 156; Add. MS. 38139 f. 77. The sheriff, Peter Manwood, was clearly not concerned to avoid knighthood for he was knighted the same year: Shaw. i. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Bodleian Library, North MS. a. 2. ff. 12-15. Printed in Herald and Genealogist, v. 18-24. This version has 'H. Wardour' but this is a slip: the original has 'Chi. Wardour'. On Wardour, see G.R. Elton, 'The Exchequer: War in the Receipt', Elizabethan Government and Society, ed. S.T. Bindoff et al. 220 et seq.



facts and figures. Wardour's research eventually found its way into the hands of Sir Julius Caesar, who was actively considering knighthood fines as a method of revenue in case the Great Contract should fail.<sup>1</sup> In the end, no fines appear to have been collected, although commissioners were appointed.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps they felt that James' unprecedented knighting activity left them with no work to do. If so, they had not consulted their documents, for a number of the 88 men returned by the sheriff of Kent were not knighted in the coronation year. More likely they decided, or were advised by the council, to drop the matter for other reasons. It is not difficult to see why councillors would have been happy to allow this type of bastard feudal revenue to lapse while retaining another, wardship. Distrainment profited no one but the crown, whereas wardship profited both crown and courtier. There was more profit for the courtier in selling knighthoods than in collecting fines. Perhaps, more charitably, they attended to another consideration: that such an unparliamentary and unpopular tax would not even bring profit to the crown. They were, at least in this matter, good Elizabethans, sensing what was politically possible and advisable.

Surrounded thus by such councillors and counsel, whatever its motive, wishing to follow the best customs of his new kingdom and feeling the need to ingratiate himself with his new subjects, James saw fit not to revive this custom of former days. Distrainment was dead and few were

---

<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne MS. 152 f. 35; D.N.B.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, Foedera, xv, 497.

the mourners. And those who trusted that its resurrection would bring deliverance from the tyranny of parliament were to be sorely discomfited.

### Chapter III

#### The Royal Choice (1)

Thus far in this thesis, the argument has been mainly a negative one: knighthood is not to be closely connected with certain families nor to be associated with a certain type of education; furthermore, since the Tudors did not use distraint of knighthood as a means of augmenting the knightly ranks, there is no evidence that men were reluctant to take up the order. We have learned something about what knighthood was not, little about what it was. Yet one positive fact has emerged: knighthood was not being avoided, it may even have been sought; but it was a question of seeking rather than claiming, the decision to bestow the honour remaining firmly with the crown. Since knighthood was a royal act, its meaning may well have varied with the monarch and it is therefore necessary to look at the attitudes of Tudor monarchs towards the knighting of their subjects.

To discover what this attitude was, and to determine whether all the Tudors felt alike on the subject, a survey of the numbers of knights at intervals throughout the century was made. The dates 1500, 1523, 1550, 1577 and 1600 were chosen partly because they are fairly equidistant and partly because of the availability of the evidence. No

comprehensive national lists of knights have been found and possibly were never compiled. Extant lists are either for specific counties or for specific purposes although these purposes are not always clear and the lists therefore misleading. For example, two lists drawn up in 1598 have titles which suggest that their compiler aimed at comprehensiveness, the first list being the names of the principal gentlemen who resided chiefly at court and the second dealing with men who lived mainly in the counties.<sup>1</sup> Yet the Lancashire section of the county list is completely blank, the Sussex section omits Sir Thomas Shirley of Wiston, and (even more remarkable), the Norfolk section omits 11 gentlemen who had been knighted by 1597. Lists of knights have, therefore, to be compiled rather than discovered and the most fruitful source is the subsidy returns.<sup>2</sup>

The subsidy returns might be expected to furnish a list of men of even limited wealth for the whole country, including those temporarily abroad. But the residents of the northern border counties of Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland and Durham, together with those of the Cinque Ports, were exempt from the subsidy by every sixteenth-century subsidy act requiring individual assessments, an exemption which the residents of Romney Marsh gained from 1580 onwards and which Cheshire

---

<sup>1</sup> SP12/269, ff. 88b-90b. The lists have been dated by the death of Sir Alexander Radcliffe (1599) and the knighthood of Sir Thomas Vavasour (1597): Shaw. ii. 94; table A. See also E 36/130 (ii).

<sup>2</sup> E179.

gained briefly in 1523.<sup>1</sup> In addition, some returns have not survived, while others have faded, rotted or in other ways become illegible or defective. Finally, no assessments on individuals were returned to the exchequer before those of 1523. The returns for this subsidy are quite comprehensive and the task of finding knights' names<sup>is</sup> made somewhat easier by the publication of the returns for three counties<sup>2</sup> but returns for six counties as well as 52 hundreds do not survive.<sup>3</sup> A certificate of subscribers to a loan furnished the names of seven knights of Cheshire<sup>4</sup> and it is unlikely that the remaining five counties possessed large numbers of knights. Nevertheless they represent a considerable margin of potential inaccuracy when added to the 52 hundreds, illegibilities and rotted pieces of parchment. Some names have been added by using the surviving returns for the 'anticipation' of the subsidy<sup>5</sup> but it is clear

---

<sup>1</sup> Statutes of the Realm, iii. 167, 239, 524, 824, 950-1, 1031; ibid. iv. 312, 347-8, 697-8, 756-7, 791-2, 833-4, 882, 951-2, 1008-9.

<sup>2</sup> Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex, 1524-5, ed. J. Cornwall (Sussex Record Soc. lvi); Subsidy Rolls for the County of Buckinghamshire, Anno 1524, ed. A.B. Chibnall and A.V. Woodman (Bucks. Record Soc. viii); Suffolk in 1524, ed. S.H.A.H.(ervey), (Suffolk Green Books, x). The year 1523 has been used rather than the 1524 chosen by the editors above because the subsidy was granted in 1523 and the assessments for the first payment had been made in 1523 although the returns were not due at the exchequer until 14 January 1524. In some cases, use has been made of returns for subsequent payments in order to supplement defective returns for the first payment. Dates of knighthood have been checked to ensure that knights discovered in this way were already knights at the end of 1523. The same method had been used in compiling the list for 1550.

<sup>3</sup> See table on next page.

<sup>4</sup> E179/85/1.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Kent: E179/124/190; Lincs: E179/136/305, 306.

Table 7

Table to show the coverage of the  
subsidy returns of 1523-1526

County	Missing
Cheshire	Whole county
Cumberland	" "
Durham	" "
Northumberland	" "
Monmouth	" "
Westmorland	" "
Bedfordshire	5 hundreds
Cambridgeshire	2 "
Kent	9 "
Lincolnshire	14 "
Shropshire	2 "
Somerset	6 "
Wiltshire	8 "
Yorkshire W. Riding	3 "
E. Riding	1 "
N. Riding	2 "

from the counties where both the anticipation and subsidy rolls are extant that knights did not all pay the anticipation. As a means of filling these gaps, the commissions of the peace are of limited value: commissions for 14 counties in the early 1520's have not been found and these include six of the seven counties for which there are no subsidy returns.<sup>1</sup> The extant commissions of the peace provided few new names, for by no means all knights were justices of the peace at this time.

Although they were of no help for the border counties, the lists of subsidy commissioners proved a valuable means of filling in gaps caused by other defective county returns.<sup>2</sup> These gaps have been further filled by 32 names found in the household assessments, which also yielded a few names for the five completely missing counties.<sup>3</sup>

The next date chosen for the survey, 1550-1, is better served with sources. The subsidy returns are extant for all but seventeen hundreds and the four northern border counties.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the commissions of the peace for 1547 are both fuller by county and more complete in the number of counties represented and the list of subsidy commissioners for 1550 is likewise complete, and seemingly very comprehensive.<sup>5</sup> The household subsidy rolls are also extant,<sup>6</sup> so that it is likely that even fewer names have escaped in this survey than in that of 1523.

---

<sup>1</sup> A commission for Cumberland furnished 2 names: L.P. iii (1) 1081 g. 13. The counties for which commissions have not been found are Beds. Bucks. Cambs. Chesh. Durham. Lancs. Leics. Mon. Norf. Northumberland, Notts. Rutland, Sussex, Westmorland.

<sup>2</sup> L.P. iii (2), 3282, 3504.

<sup>3</sup> E179/69/2,3,3a,4,6,7,8,9,10,12,15,17,23,24.

<sup>4</sup> Technically a relief: Statutes of the Realm, iv. 78, but it was organized like a subsidy and is as effective as a provider of names.

<sup>5</sup> C.P.R. 1547-8, 80-92; Ibid. 1553 and Appendices, 1547-53, 351-5.

<sup>6</sup> E179/69/62, 65, 68, 71.

Table 8  
Coverage of the subsidy of 1550-1551

County	Missing
Cumberland	Whole county
Durham	" "
Northumberland	" "
Westmorland	" "
Essex	1 hundred
Hampshire	3 "
Lincolnshire	2 "
Somerset	7 "
Suffolk	2 "

The fact that both here and in the next list, 1577, commissions of the peace and subsidy commissions have been used partially to fill the gaps caused by the exemption from the subsidy of Englishmen in the northern border counties may give rise to the objection that both these lists, by being more comprehensive, make an unfair comparison with the list for 1523 in which five counties are not represented. The margin is not likely to be statistically very significant, however, since the



additional sources available in 1550 provided only 13 names and in 1577 only eight. These represent 2.4 per cent of the total of 1550 and 3.2 per cent of that of 1577. Thus one may be reasonably sure that by adding about 3 per cent to the total for 1523 any inequality in comparison will be eliminated.

The returns for the subsidy granted in 1576 have not, for the most part, survived but a typed transcript of a document claiming to be the record of the second payment (1577) is available at the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> This book cannot be a complete copy of the returns, however: only 52 names are listed for Lancashire, and for Wiltshire only 297 compared with over 5,000 in the returns for the first payment the year before.<sup>2</sup> The document may represent an attempt to ascertain whether the wealthier men were being grossly under-assessed. A comparison of commissioners' assessments for 1577 and 1581 with M or L (for more or less) beside the 1581 figure suggests government activity along these lines.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Transcript of the second payment of the lay subsidy granted 18 Elizabeth, from a MS in the hands of Mr. Granville Proby of Elton Hall, presented to the P.R.O. in 1945. The transcript is at present at press 10/65 in the Literary Search Room. The second payment was to be assessed before 28 September, 1577: Statutes of the Realm, iv. 640.

<sup>2</sup> Proby MS. Transcript, ff. 96-97, 165d-171; Two Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists, 1545 and 1576, ed. G.D. Ramsay (Wilts. Archaeological and Natural History Society, Records Branch, x), 45-159.

<sup>3</sup> Lansd. MS. 32 ff. 82-85b; cf. Lansd. MS. 32, f. 15, Burghley's list of the nobility with their previous assessments together with his proposed assessments for 1581. On this see H. Miller, 'Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century', B.I.H.R. xxviii (1955), 31n.3.

Table 9Coverage of the Proby MS. on the subsidy of 1577

County	Missing
Cumberland	Whole county
Durham	" "
Northumberland	" "
Westmorland	" "
Bedfordshire	1 hundred
Cornwall	1 "
Derbyshire	1 "
Devonshire	3 "
Dorset	4 "
Essex	1 "
Gloucestershire	1 "
Hampshire	9 "
Herefordshire	2 "
Kent	3 "
Lincolnshire	4 "
Monmouthshire	2 "
Norfolk	1 "
Shropshire	2 "
Somerset	6 "
Sussex	6 "
Wiltshire	1 "
Yorkshire W. Riding	2 "
E. Riding	2 "
N. Riding	4 "

More probably the document was drawn up for another, or at least a second reason: by the side of each man's assessment appears the number of lances or light horse he was expected to provide. Whatever its purpose, the document is fortunately defective mainly of the lower orders of society for it omits but one knight found in the extant Wiltshire returns of 1576 (for some reason, the Bradford Hundred where he was assessed is missing). Sir Walter Hungerford was not 'lost', however, since he appeared both on the commission of the peace for 1577<sup>1</sup> and on the subsidy commission of 1581.<sup>2</sup> These sources and the household assessment<sup>3</sup> have also helped to supply names for the four exempt border counties and possibly to fill in gaps caused by the omission from the document of fifty six hundreds<sup>4</sup> (although in general it seems reasonable to suppose that these hundreds have been omitted because nobody of sufficient wealth inhabited them). For the purpose of gathering names of knights, then, the document is as satisfactory as any extant subsidy return, for it loses no more, and possibly fewer, names than are lost from the subsidies of 1523 and 1550 because of illegible or mutilated portions and completely missing hundreds.

A problem in compiling these three lists was that a number of names appeared in two or more counties. This should mean that there were

---

<sup>1</sup> SP12/21. Lancs. is not included in this document and for this purpose a list for 1575 has been used: SP12/104. The latter was also useful because it indicated in which counties a justice was considered resident.

<sup>2</sup> C212/22/8. I have been unable to locate one for 1577.

<sup>3</sup> E179/69/93.

<sup>4</sup> See table 9 on previous page.

two or more different men involved, for the subsidy acts make it clear that a subject was only to be taxed in one county. A number of instances showed that this was not necessarily the case when checked against printed lists of wills and inquisition post mortem lists.<sup>1</sup> These, in addition to the list of justices of the peace for 1575 which noted the county or counties in which a justice chiefly resided<sup>2</sup> and, where possible, printed biographical notes, sorted out most of the problems. The least fruitful approach was the one which was employed by the government. Any man in danger of being charged in two counties was to obtain a certificate of residence from the collectors stating that he had paid in one county and was therefore exempt from all other charges.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately these certificates do not survive for 1523 and are very scanty for 1550 and 1577. Although several men are listed in the Wiltshire subsidy of 1576 as having paid in other counties, none of their certificates of residence survive. Furthermore, it is not clear whether collectors uniformly required a certificate: only one Wiltshire district appears to have done so in 1576.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately the numbers involved were small and the number relying on a certificate of residence - or guesswork - for a solution was even smaller.

---

<sup>1</sup> Index of Wills preserved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, i-v;  
Index of Inquisitions preserved in the Public Record Office, i-iii  
(P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xxiii, xxvi, xxxi).

<sup>2</sup> SP12/104.

<sup>3</sup> E115.

<sup>4</sup> G.D. Ramsay, op.cit. p. xi.

The three lists thus compiled give a reasonably accurate (or at worst equally inaccurate) picture of the number of knights in England for the dates 1523, 1550 and 1577, especially if seven<sup>1</sup> are added to the list for 1523 to make up for the total lack of sources for three of the northern border counties for that date.

The totals are:

Table 10

1523	1550	1577
336	539	247

The accuracy of this method may be checked by the more detailed work done on Lancashire, Norfolk and Sussex, and the results, in table 11 below, show that, for these counties at least, the subsidy returns, complemented by the commissions of the peace and subsidy commissions, give an accurate picture. Only ten names were lost, seven from the list for 1550, the date at which there were most knights: it can hardly be objected that the national figure for the middle of the century is so much higher because the sources of the other two dates are more defective.

---

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 90.

Table 11

	1523		1550		1577	
	County Study	National List	County	National	C.	N.
Lancs.	12	11 <sup>1</sup> (+1)	21	19	9	9
Sussex	9	8	9	7	5	5
Norfolk	16	16	23	22 (+4) <sup>2</sup>	6	6
Nos. Missing		2		4		0

The accuracy of the method adopted in compiling national lists is therefore quite high but it must be stressed that this is the accuracy of the method as a whole, not any part of it. For example, three names in the Lancashire list for 1550 did not appear in any of the sources for that date, but were added from the list of 1577 when it was found that they had been knighted before 1550. Some names in all lists were found in counties other than the one here listed, and still others were assessed at court.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Includes Sir John Byron, subsidy commissioner for Notts. 1522, 1523 and assessed there, who also had lands in Lancs., but is not to be found in the returns for that county; and Sir Richard Brereton who was a subsidy commissioner for Salop. The Lancashire returns also yielded the name of Sir Henry Kighley whose name has been excluded from the Lancs. list, shown here as (+1). He was primarily a West Riding man.

<sup>2</sup> (+4) = four names on the Norfolk subsidy returns and nowhere else, yet not included in the family study because they were not in Norfolk for long, or because they were predominantly resident in another county.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in the Norfolk list for 1523, two names were found in assessments outside Norfolk: Sir Philip Calthorpe (Household assessment) and Sir John Heveningham (Suffolk): E 179/69/3; Suffolk in 1524, ed. S.H.A.H.(ervey), (Suffolk Green Books, x), 74.

The method described above could not be used in compiling lists for the years 1500 and 1600 and there is possibly more room for doubt about the totals arrived at. Subsidy returns for any year around 1500 are of no value since they contain no individual assessments. The list for this date has therefore been compiled from the subsidy commissioners for 1503-4 and the commissions of the peace for 1494-1504.<sup>1</sup> These provided 258 knights, 83 of whom had been dubbed between 1501 and 1504. Since Shaw records the making of only 99 knights for this period,<sup>2</sup> the total of 258 is probably not more than one ninth in error for 1504, and although the margin of error must be greater when the list is pushed back to give an assessment of numbers for 1500, that margin is still not likely to be very great, for while the 1504 list was compiled partly from the subsidy commission of that date, it was also compiled from commissions of the peace close to and even before 1500. An estimate of 225 seems reasonable.

Yet this number is far in excess of the 140 knights found in "The King's Book of all the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen in this realme of England" dated 1501.<sup>3</sup> The book is not the full list which its title suggests, however, since no knights are recorded in eleven counties. Since two of the counties were Lancashire and Yorkshire, the absence of knights from the county lists cannot be taken at its face value. The explanation of these omissions lies in the purpose of the document and

---

<sup>1</sup>Statutes of the Realm, ii. 677-82; C.P.R. 1494-1509, 629-69.

<sup>2</sup>Shaw, i. 145-7; ibid. ii. 32-34.

<sup>3</sup>Harl. MS. 6166, ff. 50-64. A personal copy by Francis Thynne in 1601 of the original lent him by William Wroughton: f. 64.

the nature of its compilation. Its subtitle reveals that at least one of the purposes of its compiler was to find men with the £40 property qualification who could be selected as knights of the Bath presumably to be made at the marriage of Prince Arthur on November 14, 1501.<sup>1</sup> The compiler was almost certainly dependent for his information upon the returns of local officials and while some returned lists of all gentlemen, knighted or not, and of any value, others sent merely the names of unknighthed gentry who were worth £40 a year or more. The 'King's Book', therefore, is not a comprehensive list of Henry VII's gentry, nor even of his upper gentry, its reliability varying from country to country. One is compelled to agree with Francis Thynne who wrote on his copy that the list 'is not fully perfect, as I gathered, because of my knowledge there lacks many in every shire.'<sup>2</sup>

Thynne's comment, however, refers to the omission of gentle families of any status. How many knights he found missing from the lists where knights were included he does not say but judging by the Norfolk and Sussex lists there cannot have been many. In Sussex no knights<sup>3</sup> are left out while in Norfolk only two, and one of these is included on the list of another county.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. f. 50. See also above, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. f. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Anthony Browne (in table C) is not included, but was probably not yet residing in the county.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Boleyn; Sir John Audley is listed in Suffolk section (f. 59).



Knights have been included in 26 county lists and here there seems little reason to doubt the informant's desire to provide a comprehensive list.<sup>1</sup> If this is correct, England in 1501 was possessed of 140 knights in 26 counties, or some 216 for the whole country. Even when allowance has been made for omissions and upward deviations from the average in the eleven county lists which include no knights and the two counties which were not represented,<sup>2</sup> the figure can scarcely have reached 250.

Thus, the 'King's Book' justifies our estimate made on the basis of the subsidy commission and commissions of the peace. If this figure is accurate, Colonel Wedgwood's estimate of 500 for 1509<sup>3</sup> is clearly too large, for it requires the knighting of over 300 men between 1500 and 1509, when allowance has been made for deaths.<sup>4</sup> Shaw records only 123 knightings between 1500 and 1509<sup>5</sup> and even allowing for Shaw's fallibility at this early period, it is unlikely that he missed 170. Wedgwood's figure is, however, no more than a guess, based on the assumption that

<sup>1</sup> The counties of Leics. Lincs. Essex, Mdx. Herts. Surrey, Sussex, have only knights listed but no possible candidates.

<sup>2</sup> Durham and Northumberland.

<sup>3</sup> J.C. Wedgwood, History of Parliament, Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509, p. xxxv.

<sup>4</sup> Inquisitions post mortem show an average death rate of six per year between 1500 and 1503: Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII, ii.

<sup>5</sup> 61 knights of the Bath (66 if noblemen are included): Shaw, i. 145-7; 62 knights bachelor (64 if noblemen are included): ibid. ii. 32-35. The figure could be increased by 20 (and 6 noblemen), all K.Bs., if the coronation of Henry VIII is included: ibid. i. 148-9. Shaw includes Stephen Jenyns as a K.B. but he was a knight bachelor. The confusion arose probably because Jenyns paid his fees as a baron: W.C. Metcalfe, Book of Knights, 43.

the knightage could not have remained at the low ebb it had reached in 1439, when he estimates, again without much support, that there were only some 250 knights in the country.<sup>1</sup> W.J. Blake supports this figure from his work on a list drawn up in 1433 of persons who had taken an oath not to maintain peacebreakers, by showing that there were at least 149 knights in 29 counties. He concludes that, on average, Wedgwood is somewhere near the mark, especially when allowance has been made for possible omissions from the list of 1433 of those who, through age, sickness, refusal or absence from the country, did not take the oath.<sup>2</sup> But if Blake's reasoning shows Wedgwood to be correct about the knightage in the 1430's, the same reasoning, when applied to the 'King's Book', as well as the evidence of the subsidy commission and commission of the peace, shows that Wedgwood is incorrect about the early 1500's, a conclusion further borne out by a comparison of the number of knights in Norfolk in the 1430's (Blake gives 10, Fuller gives 8)<sup>3</sup> with the number in 1509, (8 before the coronation, 13 after).<sup>4</sup> If anything, the figure for the 1430's is likely to be underestimated, so there can be no question of the knightage having doubled between 1430 and 1509. It looks as though the number of knights remained fairly constant in England during the fifteenth century and that the rise at the turn of the century was less steep than Wedgwood imagined.

---

<sup>1</sup> Wedgwood, op. cit. p. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> W.J. Blake, 'Fuller's list of Norfolk gentry', Norfolk Archaeology, xxxi (1961), 266.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 264, 263.

<sup>4</sup> See table B.

The figure for 1600, like that for the beginning of the sixteenth century is much more of an estimate than the totals for the three intervening dates. The incompleteness of the subsidy returns for any date around the turn of the century is responsible for its relying entirely upon the 1601 commissions of the peace<sup>1</sup> and a list of subsidy commissioners for 1599.<sup>2</sup> The list of justices was defective of a Lancashire commission but fortunately there exists a list of freeholders for 1600 which notes at least those justices who held land in the county.<sup>3</sup> Justices of the peace produced 214 names and to these have been added a further 21 found among the subsidy commissioners. This total of 235 cannot be regarded as complete, however. The earl of Essex knighted 152 English commoners between 1591 and 1599,<sup>4</sup> yet only 30 of them are included in this total. It is inconceivable that the remaining 122 had died, especially as 72 of them had been made in 1599.<sup>5</sup> The total of 235 has, therefore, been adjusted to an estimated 330 to allow for these men and any others who may have been omitted from the other two commissions. Even so, this is well short of the 500 which Thomas Wilson estimated to be alive in 1600.<sup>6</sup> He claims to have used the commissions of the peace which, he says,

<sup>1</sup> C 66/1549.

<sup>2</sup> C 212 /22/19.

<sup>3</sup> 'A list of the freeholders in Lancashire in the year 1600', ed. J.P. Earwaller, Miscellanies Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, i. (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, xii), 299-51.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, ii. 89,92-93,94,95-98.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. ii. 95-98.

<sup>6</sup> The State of England Anno Dom. 1600, ed. F.J. Fisher (Camden Miscellany, xvi), 23.

included all knights who were not put out for religion or disfavour. He also excluded Essex's knights. How Wilson arrived at so high a figure is not clear. He may merely have added up the number of knights on each county commission without troubling to eliminate duplicate names. He may also have considerably over-estimated the number left out for 'religion or some particular disfavour'. This seems likely since only four knights were not on the Norfolk commission and they had all been made by Essex;<sup>1</sup> in Sussex, four were omitted,<sup>2</sup> only one on religious grounds, and in Lancashire only two, of whom one was an Essex creation.<sup>3</sup> A third possibility is that Wilson included the Welsh knights who have been excluded from this study but a glance at the Welsh commissions for 1601 destroys the suspicion that Wilson's figure could be reached by adding these. It seems unlikely that Wilson included the knighted nobility in his totals for he deems knights to be the leaders of the minor nobility, distinguishing them from the hereditary nobility.<sup>4</sup> There were, in any case, only 33 knighted noblemen in 1600<sup>5</sup> and their inclusion

---

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Shelton, Sir William Woodhouse of Waxham, Sir Christopher and Sir John Heydon: Shaw, ii. 89, 92, 93, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Caryll (the Catholic), Sir Thomas Palmer of Angmering, no longer resident, Sir Thomas Shirley, senior and junior. A possible fifth, Sir Thomas Palmer, one of Essex's knights, was principally resident in Fairfield, Somerset, having sold Parham to Thomas Bishop who had been leasing it from him since 1598: J.W. Fitzwilliam, Parham in Sussex, 49. Either he or his namesake of Angmering, sat at the session of 1602-3, however: E 372/442. J.H. Gleason, Justices of the Peace in England 1558-1640, 71-72, has shown that there were no systematic religious purges of justices.

<sup>3</sup> The list of freeholders in Lancashire (see above, p.100, n.3) did not include Sir Thomas Gerard of Astley but he is found in other commissions: C66/1549. The only two completely missing are Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn, a Catholic, and Sir John Radcliffe, knighted by Essex in 1599: Shaw, ii. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, op. cit. 23.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 171

would not alter the estimate significantly. It must be concluded, therefore, that Wilson and Professor Stone (who adds a further 50 to Wilson's figure), have overestimated the size of the knightage and that Henry Spellman's estimate of 300 is much nearer the mark.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the pattern of the knightage throughout the century is as follows:

Table 12

1500	1523	1550	1577	1600
225/50	336	539	247	330

Clearly, such a pattern as these figures present is out of harmony with the more uniformitarian picture drawn by Mr. J.P. Cooper who argues that the number of knights remained fairly constantly around the figure 300 for most of the century.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cooper has relied heavily on the commissions of the peace to provide him with names<sup>3</sup> and bases his estimate partly on these and partly on the assumption that any large increase in the number of knights would be unthinkable because it would represent too dramatic a rise in the number of great landowners, an assumption which is based upon an unproven conception of sixteenth-century knighthood.

---

<sup>1</sup> L. Stone, Crisis, 74; W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660, 323-4; H. Spelman, Reliquiae Spelmaniae, 179; cf. J.P. Cooper, 'The social distribution of land and men in England, 1436-1700', Econ. H.R. Second Ser. xx (1967), 425.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit. 422-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 422, 424.

Although Mr. Cooper may be correct to deny the possibility of a dramatic rise in the number of great landowners, it does not follow that the crown might not vary the number it chose to knight, or even reduce the qualification at some stages and raise it at others.<sup>1</sup>

Granted that there was a greater movement in numbers than Mr. Cooper believes, how far do the figures in table 12 give an accurate picture of that movement? For example, Professor Stone's estimate of 600 or so at the accession of Elizabeth<sup>2</sup> suggests that the peak had not been reached by 1550. His estimate may include peers and Irishmen (both excluded from this study), but it seems unlikely that there were more knights in 1558 than there were in 1550 because the county figures show a decline in numbers by 1555 at the latest.<sup>3</sup> The county figures also confirm that the middle 1570's saw that decline reach its lowest point. Although the general pattern is substantiated, however, the national figures do miss a significant rally in numbers in the late 1570's which was followed by an equally significant decline in the 1580's and early 1590's.<sup>4</sup> Since the county figures agree with the national ones at other dates, there is good reason to suggest that at this point also they reflect a national trend.

<sup>1</sup> This problem is discussed further in chapter IV.

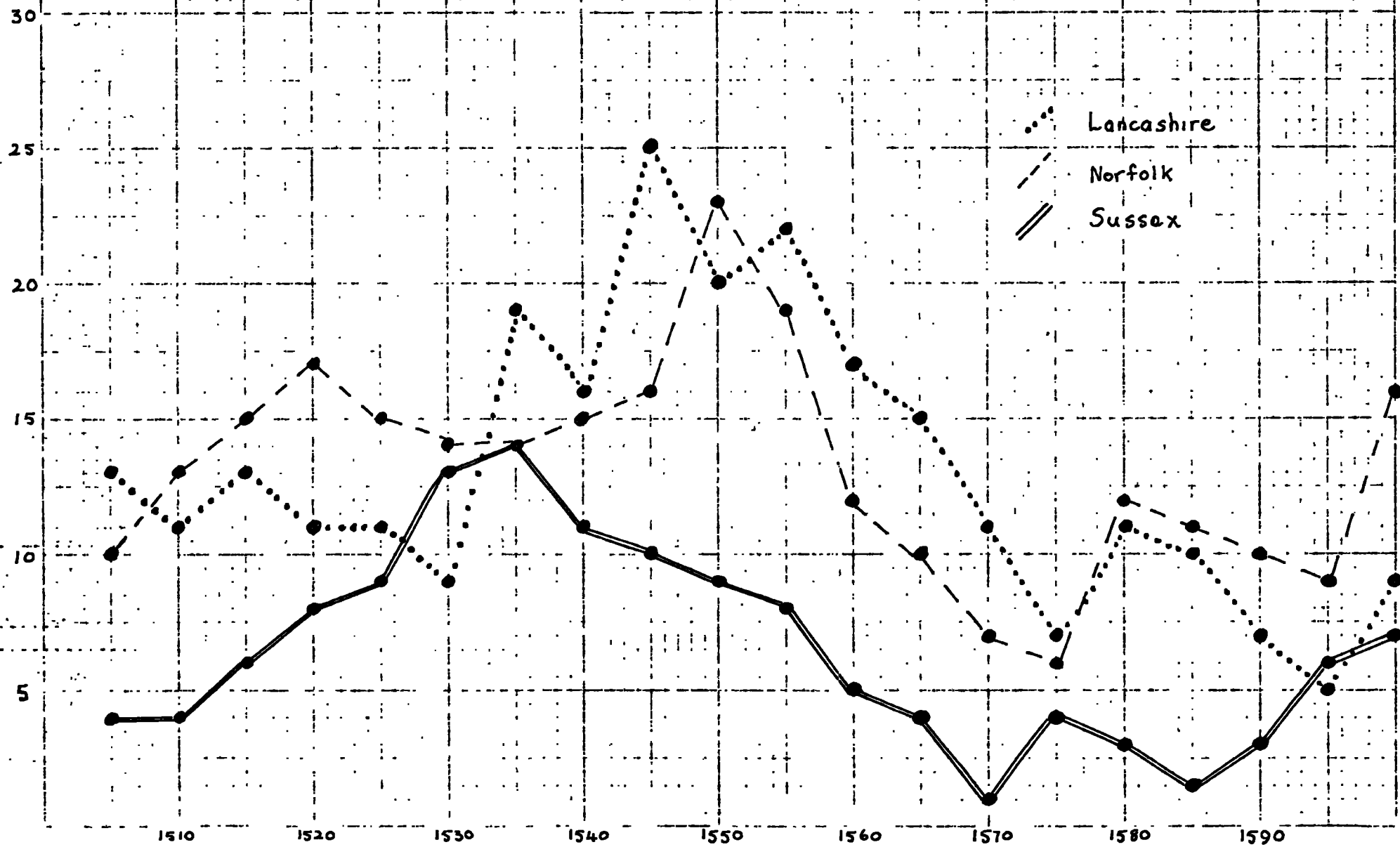
<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. 71; cf. his earlier 'Inflation of Honours, 1558-1641', Past and Present, xiv (1958), 49.

<sup>3</sup> See table 13, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> This decline is not detected by Professor Stone's method of counting the creations by decades: op. cit. 71-2. This may be because he does not make sufficient allowance for knighthood late in life and for early death.

Table 13

Numbers of resident knights  
in Lancashire, Norfolk and  
Sussex at 5-yearly intervals.



What the sixteenth century saw, then, was an 'inflation of knighthood' similar, although on a smaller scale, to that which Professor Stone observed for all titles of honour in the early seventeenth century. Of its kind, the sixteenth century inflation was unprecedented, at least for over a century. The early fourteenth century had witnessed large numbers, but at a time when the crown was urging knighthood upon its subjects as a duty rather than conferring it as an honour.<sup>1</sup> The low number of knights throughout the fifteenth century<sup>2</sup> probably marks the triumph of the latter attitude and what happened between 1520 and 1550 was, therefore, the first inflation of honours. It was followed by a deflation in the 1570's, and eventually the beginnings of a more drastic inflation in the 1590's.

How much more drastic it is difficult to determine. A steep rise in population might mean that the early Stuart inflation of honours is more comparable with its mid-Tudor forerunner than the mere counting of knightly creations would suggest. It is interesting, therefore, that the expansion of the knightage in the 1540's and 1550's did not engender the lack of respect for the monarchy that its Stuart successor did. The knightage of England was at its lowest ebb, numerically, between 1433 and 1500, the very time when the crown had least authority. The resumption of royal authority to a level sometimes, even if misleadingly, called

---

<sup>1</sup> W.J. Blake, *loc. cit.* 264, 266; F.M. Nichols, 'On feudal and obligatory knighthood', *Archaeologia*, xxxix (1863), 220-4, suggests a similar movement.

<sup>2</sup> The paucity of knighted sheriffs is some guide here: see below, p.269.



despotic was accompanied by a series of knightings unprecedented for a century. It is true that the numbers reached their peak between 1546 and 1554, the period of crisis for the Tudor monarchy, but the politically conscious rallied to Mary's support in 1553 and later placed themselves firmly behind her successor. Whether a lack of respect would have developed if the inflation had lasted into the reign of Elizabeth is difficult to determine, but it seems that Professor Stone is correct in placing more emphasis upon the sale of titles than on their numerical increase.

The two significant factors in the rise of the number of knights in the first half of the century were war and ceremonial occasions. Every time the number of knights threatened to fall to the level of the previous century one of these factors intervened and sent the numbers rising again. Thus the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501, the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales in 1503, and the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509 gave enough impetus to keep the numbers rising slightly until the French and Scottish wars of 1512-1523 created an even larger body. It is not surprising therefore that war accounted for 151 of the 336 knights alive in 1523 while a further 65 owed their knighthoods to ceremonial occasions. Only 26 can be classed as mere civil knights with certainty. Even if the remaining 87, for whom no occasion has been found, also fall into this last category, the mere civil knights comprise but one third of the knightage of 1523.

For the next ten years the numbers of knights probably declined a little if the Lancashire and Norfolk figures are typical (the Sussex

figures continued to rise as a result of a visit which Henry paid to the county in 1526<sup>1</sup>), but the order received a further influx of members at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. By about 1540 numbers were beginning to drop again but this movement was checked and reversed by the Scottish and French wars of the 1540's and the coronation of Edward VI. Even if Henry had lived longer there would have been no lull in this upward movement for he had planned to have Edward knighted in 1547 and preparations for the ceremony and its accompanying batch of knights were well under way when Henry died.<sup>2</sup> This constant pressure of knightworthy events, which ceased only with the end of the wars and the accession of Mary, led to the high figure of 539 for 1550. By that date, 167 living knights had been made in the wars and 138 to grace ceremonial occasions. Once again, these two factors account for more than half the total alive in 1550, there being only 141 mere civil knights or at most 235 in the unlikely event of all those whose occasions of knighting are unknown falling into this category.

It is possible, then, to see some sort of pattern to the rise in the numbers of knights up to 1550 and behind the pattern a policy, or at least an attitude guided by events. Neither Henry VII nor Henry VIII had any objection to large numbers. In Henry VII's case, there may have been a deliberate attempt to replenish a depleted knightage;<sup>3</sup> under his son, even when the knightage had risen well above the fifteenth-century level,

---

<sup>1</sup> L.P. iv (2), 3268; see table C.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 71-72.

<sup>3</sup> F.C. Dietz, English Government Finance, 1485-1558, 27-28.

the brake was not applied. Indeed, had not death removed Queen Jane before her coronation, the number of knights living in the 1530's and 1540's would have been even greater. The large numbers dubbed by Somerset and Northumberland<sup>1</sup> were thus in harmony with an established pattern. To that extent, at least, Edward VI's knights were not extraordinary and any attempt to read sinister motives into the large dubbings ought to be based on the relationship of the knight to the statesman rather than on the size of the groups knighted.

It is easier to explain why there were large numbers of men knighted than it is to suggest a purpose for them. Knights were no longer important to the army, neither were men knighted solely on account of the numbers they brought to the front, nor had they a unique role to play in local administration.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, knighthood did not render its owner more liable to feudal exactions as Dietz asserted: on the contrary it might end war<sup>d</sup>ship.<sup>3</sup> A more likely explanation may be found in the way<sup>in</sup> which early Tudor monarchs used public spectacle as a means of propaganda. Dr. Anglo's analysis of the Westminster tournament roll of 1511 has shown that a royal tournament could become a spectacle designed solely for the glorification of the king,<sup>4</sup> and the ceremonies connected with knighthood might well be viewed in the same light, for they added

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, i. 150-2; ibid. ii. 59-65.

<sup>2</sup> Watson, 216; below, chapters VII and VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Dietz, <sup>op. cit.</sup> 27-28; J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards, 176-7.

<sup>4</sup> S. Anglo, The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, i. 82. Dr. Anglo's unpublished thesis, 'Public Spectacle in Early Tudor Policy' (London Ph.D. 1959) deals with other aspects of this question but not with knighting ceremonies.

dignity and splendour to an already splendid occasion and helped to maintain the exalted image of monarchy which the early Tudors were sedulously creating. This is particularly true of the ceremonial knightings but it can be applied also to the massive war knightings of the period, for these often took place in the king's presence, with the king frequently performing the ceremony. Just as a gentleman was to some extent judged by the size of his household and the quality and quantity of his hospitality, and kings were judged by the splendour of their courts and pageants,<sup>1</sup> so the two Henrys may have felt that a monarch was judged partly by the size of his knightings. Certainly later in the century one of Elizabeth's generals felt that men assessed his importance by the number of gentlemen he was able to knight.<sup>2</sup> For Henry VIII, in addition, there may have been a personal need to satisfy the opinion he had of himself as a victorious warrior-king.<sup>3</sup>

Whether all or any of these considerations carried weight does not alter the fact that the early Tudors were traditionalist and conservative in their attitude. If large numbers were to be made, the occasion had to be a time-hallowed one: mere civil knights were made in ones and twos, only war and ceremonial ones were made in batches. Chamberlain was to write disapprovingly when Essex revived the practice at the close of the century<sup>4</sup> but in the first half no voice was raised either in protest or

---

<sup>1</sup> Anglo, *op. cit.* i. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P. Ire. 1600-1601*, 37.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. Searisbrick, *Henry VIII*, *passim*; S. Anglo, *op. cit.* i. 1-2, 4-5; *Anglica Historia* of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537, ed. Dennis Hay (Camden Soc. lxxiv), 161, 197-9.

<sup>4</sup> *C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601*, 306.

in scorn. Neither mood would have been appropriate at that stage except for the radical, wishing for a break with the past.

It was, then, to the occasion rather than the need that Henry VIII responded: he was, in fact, willing to let the number of knights fall if the appropriate occasion was not to hand. The tremendous rise in numbers up to 1550 occurred because occasions presented themselves with almost uncanny regularity. The point is important for a correct understanding of what happened under Elizabeth. Professor MacCaffrey holds that 'like a modern gem monopolist she maintained the value of the commodity by enforced scarcity.'<sup>1</sup> On the face of it, the spectacular drop of nearly 200 knights between 1550 and 1577 supports the notion of a conservative queen determined to close the upper ranks of society, a notion further supported by the discovery that in the first 18 years of her reign, Elizabeth made only seven knights from our three counties, an average of one knight every 7.7 years. Cecil was clearly aiming to limit the size of the commission of the peace as early as 1561 and harked back to a largely imaginary past when stability within the county had been ensured by restricting power to its natural leaders, preeminent by reason of ability and wealth, a maximum of seven, including a nobleman.<sup>2</sup> His social conservatism doubtless influenced Elizabeth but there is no

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics', Elizabethan Government and Society, ed. S.T. Bindoff et al. 103. The quotation refers especially to the creation of new peers but it sums up his views on Elizabethan knighthood expressed in the same paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, 65.

direct evidence to suggest that during the first half of her reign she was consciously applying Cecil's ideas on the composition of the commission of the peace to the order of knighthood. Elizabeth's conservatism in the earlier years of her reign was of a different sort. She was merely following her father's custom: knighthoods in numbers on ceremonial and military occasions but singly and fairly infrequently otherwise.

Elizabeth's coronation did not see a great number of knights - only eleven were made<sup>1</sup> - but in all probability it was circumstance rather than policy which dictated this meagre affair. Two coronations within ten years of her own, as well as a goodly number of military knighthoods, had considerably depleted the ranks of the unknighthed gentry. It may have been difficult in 1558 to find men who were willing to take up the order at coronation prices. Thereafter, no ceremonial occasion of the kind which other Tudors had exploited presented itself: Elizabeth had neither wedding to celebrate nor children to honour. In addition, Elizabeth's foreign policy offered little outlet for the free flow of knighthoods which her marriage policy had dammed up at home. Twelve were made by Norfolk in 1560 after the seige of Leith<sup>2</sup> - a not inconsiderable number in view of the probable shortage of knightworthy men and the smallness of the enterprise - and thirteen by Sussex in 1570<sup>3</sup> after a punitive raid on Scotland at the end of the successful suppression

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, i. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ii. 70-71

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ii. 74.

of the Northern rising, a number which compares favourably with Henry VIII's knighting activity after the Pilgrimage of Grace.<sup>1</sup> The only other military expedition in the first half of the reign was the inglorious intervention in French affairs, 1562-3, which offered little scope for knightings. It was, then, as a result of the lack of the traditional opportunities that the knightage was halved between 1550 and 1577. In 1550, 167 owed their knightings to war, in 1577 only 56, 34 of whom had been knighted before 1553; similarly in 1550, 138 had been knighted on ceremonial occasions whereas in 1577 only 38, 32 of them before the accession of Elizabeth. By contrast, the number of mere civil knights remained constant: 153 in 1577 compared with 141 (or at most 200)<sup>2</sup> in 1550. Thus, from the point of view of mere civil knights the two lists are not very different and Elizabeth's parsimony is hardly demonstrated by showing that a significant proportion of her later knights were made on the field of battle.<sup>3</sup> The same could be said, with more justification, of every Tudor monarch except Mary and even she made few mere civil knights compared with ceremonial ones. As we have seen, Elizabeth was proportionately more generous in her mere civil knightings

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw specifies no knights for this occasion and has only 10 who were knighted during the year, of whom five were dubbed before the rising and two during it, both at Windsor: Shaw, ii. 50. It is possible however that some were rewarded later, and may appear in Shaw's vague list headed '( ? after 1538, Nov. 15)': *ibid.* ii. 50-52.

<sup>2</sup> The 94 of 1550 for whom no occasion has been found may have been mostly mere civil knights, but even if the 141 is raised to 200, the figures for 1550 and 1577 correspond much more closely for this type of knight than for the war and ceremonial kind.

<sup>3</sup> Stone, *Crisis*, 71-72.

than her predecessors, by 1577 mere civil knights comprising the largest single group, and Elizabeth's reign thus marks an important stage in the transition of the order from a military to a civil honour. The early phases of this transition belong to the fifteenth century with the development of the knighthood of the Bath to grace ceremonial occasions, but it seems to have been Henry VII who first created a significant number of civil knights bachelor, dubbing almost as many in the last fifteen years of the century as his predecessors had in the previous 85.<sup>1</sup> This trend continued throughout the Tudor period, although at least until 1550 the war knights remained the largest single group, and the growing number of mere civil knights was masked by the large number of war and ceremonial knights.

Whether Elizabeth was conscious of furthering the trend may be doubted, especially in the first 20 years of her reign when her attitude seems to have been conditioned by circumstances. Given her marriage and foreign policies, Elizabeth's attitude towards knightng was like her father's. No monarch for at least 200 years had been in the habit of dubbing large numbers except on ceremonial and military occasions. To say that Elizabeth bowed to tradition in this matter in the earlier part of her reign is certainly to show her as a conservative but it does not follow that she pursued a deliberate policy of shrinking the knightage and of moulding it into a more exclusive body. A curious combination of circumstances had created an unusually large knightage and the removal of

---

<sup>1</sup> See table 14, p. 114.



Table 14  
Knights made in the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup>

	War <sup>2</sup>	Ceremonial		Mere civil
		K.B.	Bachelor	
1400-1409	3	46	3 (feat of arms)	3
1410-19		23		3
1420-9		62	20	1
1430-9				4
1440-9		7		1
1450-9				1
1460-9	55	58	2	5
1470-9	78	49		2
1480-4	115	18	10 (including 2 at parliament)	6
1485-9	100	42	5	17
1490-9	139	23		5

<sup>1</sup> Based entirely upon the entries in Shaw, i. & ii, and therefore doubtless missing many knights. As a guide to trends, however, it is probably accurate. Peers have not been excluded.

<sup>2</sup> Figures include a number created bannerets.

those circumstances caused a contraction, the size of which may have disturbed the queen when she became aware of it. Possibly the unusually small percentage of knights in the parliament of 1572 impressed her;<sup>1</sup> the thin ranks of knights which greeted her on progresses of the 1570's can hardly have failed to. When she journeyed through Sussex in 1573 she found only one resident knighted commoner, and in Norfolk in 1578 only five.<sup>2</sup> Her response was immediate. The decade saw seventy knights made on progress and forty-two at court. No previous ten years of Tudor rule had been so productive of mere civil knights.<sup>3</sup>

If this unwonted activity were not Elizabeth's first attempt at regulating the size and quality of the knightage, it probably conditioned her subsequent policy. The large number of military knights made in the succeeding decades<sup>4</sup> makes it difficult to state with certainty how Elizabeth's policy would have developed if her realm had been less troubled by war, but it seems that by 1580 she had gone as far as she intended towards keeping the size of the knightage from falling and would have been happy to have maintained it at this level. The queen never again dubbed as many knights in a decade,<sup>5</sup> and her instructions to

<sup>1</sup> See Table I.

<sup>2</sup> See tables B & C; Nichols, Progresses, i. 332-54; ii. 108-225.

<sup>3</sup> This calculation, and those following, is based on Shaw, ii. Irishmen have not been included, nor English noblemen.

<sup>4</sup> 1570-9: 28 )  
 1580-9: 82 ) includes all Englishmen made in Ireland.  
 1590-9: 187 )

<sup>5</sup> 1570-9: 112  
 1580-9: 83  
 1590-9: 94

commanders-in-chief and lords-deputy from 1589 onwards reflect a desire for a relatively small, stable knightage of quality: those knighted must be of good birth and large inheritance or else extraordinarily brave. Typical of all these instructions are lord Borough's, who was urged to knight none 'but such as be, both of blood and livelihood sufficient to maintain that calling, except at some notable day of service to bestow it for reward upon such as in the field have extraordinarily deserved it.'<sup>1</sup> A distinction was clearly being made between civil and military knights: men of blood and wealth might enter the order without particular valour, others only in exceptional circumstances. And the Elizabethan knightly means test was a rigorous affair, excluding many whose fathers and grandfathers had been knights.<sup>2</sup> Yet the instructions went unheeded and when lord Mountjoy succeeded Essex in Ireland he was forbidden to make any knights without the queen's consent.<sup>3</sup>

Doubtless these instructions were prompted by the desire to restrict membership of the order to a select group, socially and economically distinct, a little lower than the peerage and superior to the common run of gentry. Thomas Wilson echoed the official view when he decided to omit Essex's knights from his estimate of the knightage of England in 1600 and to include only 'such as are cheefe men in their Countryes both for livinge and reputacions .... These for the most part are men of living betwixt 1,000 and 2,000 l. yearly and many of them equall the

---

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of the Carew MSS. 1589-1600, ed. J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen, p. 215. For other instructions, see ibid. p. 295; H.M.C. Ancaster, 288.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 133-4.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1599-1600, 446.

best Barons and come not much behind many Erles ... and ... are thought to be able to dispend yearly betwext 5,000 l and 7,000 l of good land.'<sup>1</sup> The refusal of generals to make this social distinction was a frequent royal complaint: Burghley and Walsingham wrote to lord Willoughby that 'by virtue of like commissions granted heretofore there have been some knights made which have neither been of sufficient ability in living, nor yet of any great merit ... whereof her Majesty hath conceived some mislike.'<sup>2</sup> Borough and Essex were similarly informed,<sup>3</sup> to no avail, for Mountjoy was to be informed that 'the honourable calling itself is generally become more contemptible.'<sup>4</sup> Nor was this Elizabeth's view alone. Chamberlain wrote to Carleton deprecating Essex's 'huddling them up by half hundreds,' fearing that it would bring the order into contempt.<sup>5</sup>

Contempt it may have engendered; jealousy and resentment it certainly did among those who had stayed at home and served the crown faithfully in local administration: 'it hath wrought an opinion in divers gentlemen of blood and quality here,' wrote the government in its instructions to Mountjoy, 'that they are disgraced so much when they meet in public place about our service, as they are wholly discouraged from taking pains in the same.'<sup>6</sup> Since knights were automatically placed at the top of the

---

<sup>1</sup> The State of England Anno Dom. 1600, ed. F.J. Fisher (Camden Miscellany, xvi), 23.

<sup>2</sup> H.M.C. Ancaster, 288.

<sup>3</sup> Brewer & Bullen, op. cit. <sup>pp.</sup> 215, 295.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1599-1600, 446.

<sup>5</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 306.

<sup>6</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1599-1600, 446.

commission of the peace and sat in this order when they met (a point to which great importance was attached),<sup>1</sup> those over whose backs Essex's knights jumped might well have felt 'wholly discouraged.' On the other hand, this cannot be a complete explanation of the statement since only 30 of the 152 non-noble knights dubbed by Essex appear in the commission of the peace for 1601 or subsidy commission of 1600.<sup>2</sup> The other side of the story is surely that men who had long served the crown at home, who had possibly failed to gain a knighthood in spite of urgent suits on their behalf,<sup>3</sup> who had, like the queen, come to regard the honour as a civil one, and who had perhaps grudgingly accepted the government's definition of the right amount of wealth, resented the knighting of men who were much younger, who had performed fewer civil duties and who were often less wealthy than they. Such resentment was not a figment of the queen's imagination: Essex's knights were differentiated by Thomas Wilson, and he claimed to be following the common practice.<sup>4</sup> And when James accelerated the tendency which Essex had begun a host of protesting voices made themselves heard.<sup>5</sup>

Much of the evidence so far used has concerned the earl of Essex and if the only evidence found related to him one might dismiss it as being part of the faction feud which dominated the politics of the period.

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, 48-50.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p.100.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p.126.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. 23.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p.298.

One should distinguish, however, between statements concerning the earl's actions and statements concerning knighthood. The former may have been malicious fiction, the latter would necessarily have to be sober fact if the charges against Essex were to stick. If courtiers did turn the queen's mind against her favourite it was by comparing his alleged actions with the current notion of knighthood. To have postulated a notion which the queen, and the country in general, did not hold would have weakened their case. The fact that the charges brought against Essex carried weight suggests that something like a policy, or clearly defined notion, concerning knighthood was well formed when Essex blundered, a view supported by the fact that the instructions to lord Willoughby pre-date the earl's troubles.

There was, however, more to the queen's attitude than a horror of enlarging the order or of introducing to it men of inferior social calibre: it had to do also with the initiative of the crown. This helps to explain her action when Anthony Shirley, second son of Sir Thomas Shirley of Wiston, accepted a knighthood (the order of St. Michael), from Henry IV of France without first seeking permission from the queen. Imprisoned on his return to England in 1593, he was released only when he resigned from the order and returned the insignia. This done, the queen's anger abated and Shirley was permitted to style himself Sir Anthony thereafter.<sup>1</sup> His examination by lord Buckhurst and Sir John Puckering suggests that the queen was also concerned with the question

---

<sup>1</sup> D.W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant, 37-39.

of divided allegiance, political and religious, which acceptance of the order, with its oath, was thought to imply but Shirley strenuously denied having taken the oath, insisting that he had made two promises only, neither of which affected his allegiance to the queen. The charge of oath-taking was probably easier to press but it is clear that what really rankled in Elizabeth's breast was that she was not first consulted for Puckering and Buckhurst were quick to remind Shirley that 'notwithstanding the reserving of his Allegiance and Duty to her majesty' he had done it 'without her Highness pleasure first known.'<sup>1</sup> Divided allegiance had not constituted a problem earlier in the reign when Elizabeth had given permission for two of her noblemen to receive the honour without the oath.<sup>2</sup> Nor was it a question solely of an unwanted enlargement of the knightly ranks, for action was taken also against Sir Nicholas Clifford, who was already a knight but who had been rash enough to accept this foreign order without permission.<sup>3</sup> The queen's anger with Essex had a similar cause: the earl was condemned because even after Elizabeth had written to him 'with her own hand' he disobeyed and dubbed still more knights.<sup>4</sup> The ease with which men penetrated the barriers she had erected showed Elizabeth that her control over entrance to the order, and with it the effectiveness of knighthood as a token of royal favour,

---

<sup>1</sup> Anstis, Garter, ii. 70. Anstis prints verbatim the most important documents, ibid. 70-71; H.M.C. 7th Report, Appendix, 523.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas, Knighthood, i. Garter, 192.

<sup>3</sup> E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England, ix. 332 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1599-1600, 218.

was in danger. Such incidents were invasions into the territory of the royal prerogative and must not be allowed to pass unheeded, especially at a time when the gentry were in all spheres seizing the initiative and beginning to limit the free activity of the crown.<sup>1</sup>

These invasions were the more abhorrent when they also touched the royal purse, and one of the queen's complaints about the apparently indiscriminate war knightings of the 1590's was that wards were being knighted and then claiming their freedom. One of the conditions upon which Elizabeth agreed to ratify Mountjoy's selection of knights was that he 'make none that are not of years, because our rights in the wardship of their bodies is often called into question thereby.'<sup>2</sup> A judgment by the court of wards early in the reign had declared Sir John Radcliffe free from wardship and from the compositions which knights minor had been in the habit of paying. The queen had delivered Essex his estates when he was knighted by Leicester but appears to have been less willing to release one of Essex's knights in 1599. Not until 1607, after further knighting of minors by James I, did Popham and Coke modify the earlier judgment by declaring that knighthood only terminated wardship if conferred during the lifetime of the father.<sup>3</sup>

Wardship, moreover, was not merely a source of profit to the crown, but a source of patronage. So was knighthood, and undoubtedly large-

---

<sup>1</sup> This movement is well described by W.T. MacCaffrey, 'England: the Crown and the new Aristocracy, 1540-1600', Past and Present, xxx, 64.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1599-1600, 446-7.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards, 165-7.



scale knightings by one of her councillors upset the delicately balanced mechanism of patronage by which the queen ruled. It is not without significance that on the Cadiz expedition the leaders of the opposing factions knighted roughly the same number of men.<sup>1</sup> There are plenty of signs that men gained their knighthoods through the good offices of courtiers or councillors even before the more blatant times of James I.<sup>2</sup> The system was certainly more discreet and, apart from circumstantial evidence, one can but catch glimpses of it in action, but this is probably because the system on the whole worked smoothly and was so accepted as to be unworthy of comment. Comment came more readily when things went awry as in the case of one Booth, son-in-law to lord Anderson, who would have been made a knight in June 1599 had not Anderson offended the queen the day before the ceremony was due.<sup>3</sup>

The large-scale knightings upset this system of giving a knighthood or two to first one councillor and then another and no doubt caused ill-feeling all round, arousing resentment at a local level against those who were knighted, and at the centre bitter jealousies because one set of clients had been so easily rewarded while others had not. This reflected on the patrons themselves, and it made it doubly difficult for the greatest patron of them all, the queen. She could not restore the

---

<sup>1</sup> Essex knighted 29, the lord admiral 26. Nobleman and foreigners have been omitted from each group. These groupings are based on a state paper printed by Tenison, op. cit. x. 102-6.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 148-57.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 222.

balance by placing equally large numbers of knighthoods in the hands of other courtiers without further diluting the order, an action which would ruin its value so far as she was concerned. Thus, by the 1590's Elizabeth faced a dilemma which has been insufficiently appreciated.<sup>1</sup> Given her attitude to the size, quality and nature of the order, the large number of knights made by her generals left her with no option but to limit her own choice further. It was perhaps this which made the foreign knightings so galling to her.

The Essex knightings caused the greatest stir not simply because they were the largest numerically, nor wholly because the stakes were higher, but because they were seen as the culmination of large-scale knightings (and slightings of the queen's will), which began with Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands. The queen's patience was exhausted by the time Essex disobeyed her instructions commanding him to make no further knights without submitting names for her approval and a proclamation nullifying these new creations was drawn up. In October 1599 it received the royal signature and came within an ace of publication.<sup>2</sup> But Elizabeth failed to convince her council of the necessity and propriety of the step, although the matter was still being discussed at the end of June 1600 when Sir Charles Danvers informed the earl of Southampton that at a council meeting on June 25 the queen was making Essex's release conditional upon the publication of the proclamation

---

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Stone, Crisis, 71-72.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1599-1600, 218.

but that the whole council had managed to delay that course until a second meeting on the 29th.<sup>1</sup> At this meeting the crisis was past and the voices of moderation won the day, for Chamberlain was able to write in July that although 'last week' the queen had been 'vehement,' the matter was now 'suspended and is likely to be in the dark.'<sup>2</sup>

The composition and motives of the opposition on this occasion are as interesting as its success. Leading the opposition, according to Sir John Harington, were the lord admiral and Cecil. Harington was full of reasons why the proclamation ought not to be published. Among these were parallels between knighthood and baptism to show that it cannot be annulled, and the more practical reason that such a proclamation 'will be accompanied with the secret and most bitter curses of divers and very fair ladies, who are not yet so good philosophers as to neglect honour and embrace patience; or at least to have a proviso that the ladies may still hold their places.'<sup>3</sup> This was not frivolous comment, for Burghley had written with concern to Essex nine years before that by his knightings he had 'increased the state of ladies present and future.'<sup>4</sup> Harington's most important argument, however, and one which must surely have been in Nottingham's mind, was that it could set a dangerous precedent, for he had done his share of knighting at Cadiz. Cecil's opposition was based

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. x. 208.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 447-8.

<sup>3</sup> H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. x. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. iv. 151.

on a similarly weighty consideration: that such a proclamation would bring the authority of the Great Seal into question.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting that Essex's two chief opponents should have supported him (or his knights) in this matter. Perhaps they considered that Essex had discredited himself sufficiently and that a proclamation of the type envisaged would prove dangerous if the loyalty of Essex's knights were ever put to the test. It may also show that in this respect the queen was more extreme than her councillors; that they were willing to use Essex's disobedience to the crown on this wise but were not fully convinced that Elizabeth's notion of a very small exclusive order was tenable much longer. And they certainly did not believe, as the queen did, that knighthood on the field should not be left to a commander's discretion: Cecil's father had opposed the queen in 1591 when she attempted to omit the power to knight from Essex's instructions<sup>2</sup> and Sir Robert Cecil showed himself the son of his father by his opposition to the proclamation; as for Nottingham, had he not himself knighted 26 men on the Cadiz expedition, and witnessed the pressure on the part of the country gentry to enter the order? For while there was a body of opinion in the country which mirrored the queen's thinking on the subject, there was a probably larger body which felt that entry to the knightly club had become too exclusive.

The pressure to which James I and his courtiers were subjected on

---

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 448.

<sup>2</sup> H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. iv. 151.

their way south<sup>1</sup> did not spring spontaneously from a change of monarch, even if his accession gave fresh hope to the many who, desirous of the added social status which knighthood brought, had been frustrated by a conservative queen. When lord Zouche petitioned Cecil for the knighthood of two of his friends in 1603 he was merely repeating his unsuccessful action of 1592.<sup>2</sup> Mountjoy had complained, likewise before the advent of a new monarch, that he had been 'much importuned even by the gravest sort to make some knights.'<sup>3</sup> Philip Gawdy paints a more vivid picture of frustrated ambitions: in 1588 he reports with customary relish that one Jerney left the court 'lyke one that had a blew cote without a conysance' after he had failed of 'a certeyne knighthood that he expected and they saye was promysed.' Later in 1601, he records that a Mr. Mannering of Cheshire 'and all others besydes' had failed of their expectation.<sup>4</sup> That the queen was not unaware of these desires and expectations is clear from a letter lord Willoughby received in 1589: Burghley and Walsingham wrote that 'we are ... expressly commanded by her Majesty to advise your Lordship that you will not be easily drawn to make many knights.'<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Clapham, Elizabeth of England: Certain Observations concerning the life and reign of Queen Elizabeth, ed. E. Plummer Read and C. Read, 108.

<sup>2</sup> H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. xv. 234; C.S.P. Dom. 1591-4, 492. Reresby was knighted in 1598: Shaw, ii. 95. Perhaps Zouche had persisted successfully.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1600-1601, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> H.M.C. 7th Report, Appendix, 520, 524.

<sup>5</sup> H.M.C. Ancaster, 288.

Thus, by the end of Elizabeth's reign two conflicting conceptions of the order of knighthood existed. The one, held by Elizabeth and probably by many of her knights, was that the order should be the small, exclusive preserve of the rich, well born and successful servants of the Elizabethan state, occasionally invaded by one of smaller fortune but of extraordinary valour. This at any rate was the way Mountjoy construed the situation, for in justifying his dubbing of four knights, he spent a few lines in accounting for the wealth and birth of three and a whole paragraph on the bravery of the fourth who was less wealthy and less well connected.<sup>1</sup> Similarly when lord Zouche was recommending Reresby to Cecil it was a list of civil qualifications which he stressed: wealth, religion, behaviour, and the approval of Burghley.<sup>2</sup> Against this view was the desire of others to expand the order to include a group socially a little below those who at present were knighted, a desire to return to the days of Henry VIII. They often seized upon war as their opportunity but basically this was not so much a confrontation of the military and civil conceptions of the order as a difference of opinion about the broadness of the base of what had come to be regarded as primarily a civil honour, or perhaps more properly, a mark of social status.

---

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P. Ire. 1600-1601, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1591-4, 492.

#### Chapter IV

##### The Royal Choice (ii)

It will be concluded from the preceding chapter that despite considerable fluctuations in the size of the order, the Tudors' attitude to knighthood was remarkably consistent until the last decade when Elizabeth's distaste for large numbers of war knights contrasted strongly with the attitudes of her forbears. The queen's emphasis upon blood and wealth almost to the exclusion of valour brought to a climax a century-long tendency to create proportionately more mere civil knights. Thus her reign might well mark the transition in attitude from Henry VIII's fundamentally medieval one of knighting 160 soldiers to celebrate the success of the French campaign of 1513 to Queen Anne's modern one of celebrating the victory of the Malplaquet by knighting merely the three London officials who brought congratulatory addresses to the court.<sup>1</sup> However, this picture rests on three pieces of evidence: the numbers of knights, the occasions of their knighthoods, and Elizabeth's instruction to her commanders-in-chief. It is the aim of this chapter to test these

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 36, 38-42, 276. The officials were the two sheriffs and a commissioner of the London lieutenancy.

conclusions by an analysis of the knightly families of Lancashire, Norfolk and Sussex.

At first glance, the county figures seem to make a strong case for Elizabeth's preference for men of established knightly families.<sup>1</sup> The years 1485 to 1558 brought 56 new families to the knightly order, yet of the 50 which survived into Elizabeth's reign, 38 (76 per cent) received no further Tudor knighthood.

The case has its limitations, however. Seven families rejected by Elizabeth had already had two Tudor knighthoods and were thus becoming established families. Furthermore, Elizabeth's 'parsimony' was not reserved for these new families, for 16 families more anciently established in the order were similarly passed over. Moreover, Elizabeth knighted 19 men whose families were new to the order, and they represent 43 per cent of all the families whose members received an Elizabethan knighthood, or 30 per cent if those younger sons of knights are not counted as new families.<sup>2</sup> If about one-third of Elizabeth's knightly families were of Elizabethan origin it must be concluded that Elizabeth was at least not inflexible in her attitude, a conclusion strengthened by adding to these 19 the 12 which had been new to the order in her father's reign or later and whom Elizabeth subsequently honoured.<sup>3</sup> These 31 families represent

---

<sup>1</sup> This discussion is based upon the tables 15-17, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> There were six such men, all from Norfolk. Three of them came from families where fathers or elder brothers resident in Norfolk were knighted by Elizabeth. Thus, although the 19 new families is reduced by 6 to 13, the total number of families knighted by Elizabeth is reduced only by three.

<sup>3</sup> Includes two men (Thomas Sackville and William West) who were knighted and ennobled the same day: Shaw, ii. 73, 74.



Table 15Number of families receiving first knighthood

	Henry VII	Henry VIII	Edward VI	Mary	Elizabeth
Lancs.	3	13	2	1	3
Norfolk	3	13	2	1	10*
Sussex	1	12	3	1	6
	7	38	7	3	19

Table 16Proportion of 'new' families to total families knighted

	Henry VIII	-	Mary	Elizabeth
Lancs.	16/34			3/12
Norfolk	16/37			10/23*
Sussex	16/21			6/11
	48/92			19/46

Table 17Families receiving no knighthood under Elizabeth

	'New' families (1485-1558)	Established fams.	Total	Died out
Lancs.	15	12 +	27	3
Norfolk	13	2 /	15	5
Sussex	10	2	12	3
	38	16	54	11

\* includes six families started by younger sons of knights.

+ includes Gerard of Bryn and Southworth, both of which families only had one year in the reign to get a knight, assuming that it usually came after the death of the head of the family.

/ Wyndham, Bedingfield and Heydon, all new families in early Tudor times had each had 3 knights by Elizabeth's accession - might with good reason have been included here rather than in the previous column, where they are.

67 per cent of all the families with Elizabethan knighthoods. Even allowing for the fact that 4 of these families crept in through the back door of foreign campaigns,<sup>1</sup> it remains true that the two groups described above comprise the majority of knightly families under Elizabeth. Whatever the queen's instructions to her generals on the subject of birth meant they were not devised to inhibit her power to select whom she would. Perhaps birth has been defined here more stringently than Elizabeth intended, but in that case it is difficult to discover why she complained of her general's disobedience on this point, for the war knights from all three counties came from families of repute and had a decent lineage in this sense.

The figures, therefore, give little support to the hypothesis that Elizabeth applied to her choice of knights the criterion of birth which she expected her generals to apply to theirs. They do, however, suggest that the earlier Tudors, especially Henry VIII, were even less concerned with the knightly background of their knights, for whereas Elizabeth selected rather more than one third of her total from new families, just over half the families in the previous fifty years (48 out of 92) had been new to the order. Relatively, therefore, the reign of Elizabeth saw more emphasis on birth, even if that factor were not an overriding one.

For Elizabeth's attention to the wealth of a would-be knight there is rather more evidence. The index of wealth used here is the subsidy

---

<sup>1</sup> John Heydon, Robert Mansell, John Peyton and John Shelton: Shaw, ii. 93, 94, 99. Representatives of other families in this group of 36 were also knighted at war but the first Elizabethan knighthood in each family was a civil one.

assessment.<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this investigation, subsidy returns are preferable to inquisitions post mortem and foedary surveys which, while giving a rather more realistic estimate of wealth, give it at only one point in a man's life. Furthermore some men avoided inquisitions or the inquisitions have avoided us whereas the subsidy returns are more comprehensive. Although they become progressively less reliable as realistic estimates of a man's wealth, they give a useful indication of his relative economic standing in the county, especially in the case of subsidy commissioners who assessed each other in committee.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is possible to discern the economic decline of the Heydons of Baconsthorpe not because the head of the family was assessed at £200 in 1577, £65 in 1587 and £20 in 1594 and 1598, but because he was at the top of the table in 1577 and nearly at the bottom in 1598.<sup>3</sup>

The subsidy returns nevertheless have their limitations: there is no relatively complete assessment for Sussex after 1577 and the Norfolk rolls for the end of the century are somewhat defective. Thus, although a government survey of the assessments of justices of the peace carried out in 1595 helps to fill in some gaps,<sup>4</sup> it remains true that the picture

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179.

<sup>2</sup> E 179/131/173 and Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 241, f. 32b are evidence of what was probably normal practice. Statute often enjoined such practice. See, for example, Statutes of the Realm, iii. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Proby MS. Transcript, f. 116b; Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 241, f. 32b; E 179/152/469, 493.

<sup>4</sup> Hatfield MS. 278, ff. 65b-68 for Norfolk and ff. 90b-92b for Sussex.

is least complete where completeness is most needed to test the hypotheses that Elizabeth preferred wealthy knights and that her generals paid little heed to her wishes on this point.

There is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence to demonstrate that somewhat poorer men were being knighted in the campaigns at the end of the century. Only two war knights, Sir Christopher Heydon and Sir John Townshend, both made in 1596,<sup>1</sup> appear in the extant Norfolk rolls from 1594 to 1598,<sup>2</sup> and both of these are low in the table. Sir John's father, who was knighted in 1588 and who died in 1590,<sup>3</sup> must have been in similar economic straits and is another example of a 'poor' war knight. So is Sir Christopher Heydon's brother, John, knighted in 1599,<sup>4</sup> who can scarcely have been better off than his elder brother. Similarly, Sir William Woodhouse of Waxham, knighted in 1591,<sup>5</sup> may be presumed to have been of insufficient competence by Elizabeth's standards since he had not yet succeeded his father, Sir Henry, who in any case was in debt at least from 1597.<sup>6</sup>

Three Lancashire gentlemen, Cuthbert Halsall, and Alexander and John Radcliffe, gained their knighthoods in Elizabeth's wars and they, like

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Both appear in a roll for 1598: E 179/152/493; Heydon also in rolls for 1594 and 1595: E 179/152/469; E 179/152/475.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 86; P.C.C. 16 Sainberbe.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, ii. 97.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 89.

<sup>6</sup> *C.S.P. Dom.* 1595-7, 508; *ibid.* 1598-1601, 202; *ibid.* 1603-10, 377. There is a possibility, however, that Sir William had independent means, for he was a courtier: SP 12/269, f. 88b.

their Norfolk counterparts, were low on their county assessments.<sup>1</sup> John Radcliffe, in fact, was not returned at all, for he was one of the queen's wards, a status which added to the economic plight of the family.<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Palmer of Parham, the sole war knight from Sussex under Elizabeth,<sup>3</sup> was probably better off, since Jenyns estimated his wealth at £4,000 before his marital differences<sup>4</sup> but as there is no subsidy assessment extant it is impossible to say how he stood in relation to other Sussex gentlemen. Whatever the result of such an inquiry might be, it is clear that many gentlemen were being knighted who were economically either in decline or at least not in the ascendancy during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign and that the queen's fears that this was happening despite her orders to the contrary were justified. Whether this supports the jibe that they were no better off than the yeoman<sup>5</sup> is another matter. While there were men outside the knightly group studied with higher assessments, the majority fell below even the £20 assessments of the Heydons and Townshends. These war knights may have been at the bottom of the tables of the knightly families, but they were still near the top of a table of all landowners.

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 96, 98; E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England, x. 105; E 179/131/266, 273.

<sup>2</sup> Tenison, op. cit. xi. 174-5 prints a letter from the earl of Essex to this effect and claims that the earl was 'surely right' to knight Sir John in view of his illustrious heritage. But Essex was clearly disregarding his queen's instructions by knighting a minor; see above, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 93; J.W. Fitzwilliam, Parham in Sussex, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Mauseley, 643.

<sup>5</sup> Stone, Crisis, 73.

Whether the queen needed to be as perturbed as she appears to have been is a moot point. What was happening in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign was not new. The wars of Henry VIII had likewise provided the less wealthy gentry with an opportunity to gain the honour: four of the five knights assessed in Lancashire at less than £30 in 1550 were made on the field<sup>1</sup> and only one of the eleven Lancastrians who gained their families' first knighthood in Henry VIII's wars was rated at more than £50.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence is less clear cut in the other two counties, where some, like Sir Thomas Clere of Stokesby, knighted in 1544,<sup>3</sup> appear to have been wealthy to start with,<sup>4</sup> whereas others, like the admiral Sir Henry Sharnbourne, knighted about 1512<sup>5</sup> were not, if the placing of his son in the Norfolk table for 1550 is any indication.<sup>6</sup> Only three Sussex families gained their first knighthood because of war and two of these, Sir Edward Bellingham, and Sir Henry Hussey (both knighted in 1547)<sup>7</sup> are in the lower half of the table for 1550.<sup>8</sup> Sir Edward was

<sup>1</sup> See table E, 1550. Sir Robert Langley was the only peace-time knight.

<sup>2</sup> Assessments for John Atherton, John Holcroft, Thomas Holt: table E, 1523; for William Leyland, Alexander Osbaldestone and Robert Hesketh: table E. 1550; for the son of Richard Holland, Richard Shirburne and Robert Worseley: table E. 1563. No assessments have been found for Richard Brereton and Robert Worseley.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Table F, 1550.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Table F, 1550.

<sup>7</sup> Shaw, ii. 60, 62.

<sup>8</sup> Table G, 1550.

succeeded in 1550 by his nephew John, aged 13, who was in turn succeeded by a thirteen year old in 1576 so that 2 minorities may have impaired the family fortune.<sup>1</sup> There is unfortunately no assessment extant except that of John's widow, Anna, who was assessed at £10 in 1577.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent heads of the Hussey family failed to maintain even the poor position in the table which Sir Henry had held just before his knighthood.<sup>3</sup> The fortunes of later Bellinghams and Husseys are, however, less important than their standing at the time of their knighthoods, the lowness of which confirms the conclusion drawn from the Lancashire evidence, that men of a slightly lower economic level found in war the opportunity for a knighthood which might otherwise have been denied them.

The entry of poorer gentlemen at the end of the century was not, therefore, unique: throughout the century war presented some gentlemen with the opportunity of entering an order for which they would not have been considered in peace-time. But if the facts did not change, attitudes did and that which was accepted apparently without demur by monarch and subject alike in the 1530's and 1540's was greeted with hostility by both in the 1590's. Several reasons for this change have already been suggested<sup>4</sup> and it is clear that Elizabeth's consistency in choosing men of the wealthier sort had its effect upon her and her subjects. When knighting men from the three counties studied, the queen ignored the

---

<sup>1</sup> Comber, Lewes, 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Proby MS. Transcript, f. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Table G, 1550.

<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 116-127.

sons of almost every 'poor' knight made in the previous three reigns, and looked to those families that were economically in the ascendancy. There seems to be no other reason than relative poverty to explain why protestant families as active in local administration as the Athertons, Holts, Worseleys and Hollands of Lancashire, the Blennerhassetts of Norfolk and the Ernleys and Mervyns of Sussex should have been passed over. Financial troubles may also help to explain the long wait endured by Thomas, son of Sir Thomas, Butler before becoming a knight. His father was just outside the £50-£100 group in the Lancashire assessment of 1550,<sup>1</sup> a position which accurately reflects the decline in family fortunes caused by his quarrels and litigation.<sup>2</sup> Thomas was no better off in 1563 when he was assessed at £40,<sup>3</sup> for he was still below ten gentlemen of knightly families - eight of them knights,<sup>4</sup> another (Edmund Trafford) to be knighted in 1578,<sup>5</sup> and the last (Thomas Houghton) soon to flee abroad for his religion<sup>6</sup> - who were assessed at between £50 and £100. None of the three knights assessed at £50<sup>7</sup> nor those assessed lower<sup>8</sup> in this subsidy had further knighthoods in

---

<sup>1</sup> Table E, 1550.

<sup>2</sup> Watson, 257-60.

<sup>3</sup> Table E, 1563.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Molyneux, Thomas Gerard of Bryn, Thomas Hesketh, Peter Leigh, William Radcliffe, Richard Shirburne, Thomas Langton, John Atherton.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Watson, 366.

<sup>7</sup> Atherton, Langton and Shirburne.

<sup>8</sup> William Norris (£40), John Southworth (£26.13.4), Robert Worseley (£20), John Holcroft (£20).



the family whereas the heirs of the five assessed at more than £50 all became knights. Thomas Butler did not become a knight until 1576<sup>1</sup> by which time he had joined this upper income group in the subsidy assessment.<sup>2</sup> By this time he had waited longer after the death of his father than any other Lancashire knight, a wait which cannot have been occasioned by his youth, for he was thirty-four when his father died and sixty before he was knighted.<sup>3</sup>

This pattern of knighthood according to position on the table of assessed wealth is repeated in both 1577 and 1581. In 1577 only one man in the £50 to £100 group was either not a knight or not to be made one and he (Richard Bold) was unsatisfactory on religious grounds.<sup>4</sup> Of those soon to be knighted, only John Radcliffe was assessed at less than £50 and, significantly enough, he was assessed at £50 in the next return.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Richard Molyneux, to be knighted in 1586,<sup>6</sup> fell below the apparently acceptable level of £50 in 1581 but rose in the table, both in assessed wealth and in position, so that by 1599 he was almost at the top.<sup>7</sup>

It might be argued that the evidence above, especially the upgrading of men's assessments soon after their knighthoods, represents an attitude

---

<sup>1</sup> W.D. Pink and A.B. Beaven, The Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire (County and Borough), 1258-1885, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Table E, 1577.

<sup>3</sup> Born in 1516: Watson, 260.

<sup>4</sup> Watson, 232-3.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 78; E 179/131/235.

<sup>6</sup> Shaw, ii. 84.

<sup>7</sup> Table E, 1599.

of mind on the part of the assessors and that the increased assessment is the consequence rather than the cause of their knighthoods. Degree did carry financial obligations and the lord was expected to pay more than the knight who in turn paid more than the esquire in heralds' fees, for example, and Elizabeth's instructions to her commanders seem to indicate that knighthood brought with it additional financial burdens.<sup>1</sup> Taxation was not one of them, however, for while some knights (including those recently made) were highly assessed, others were rated in all three subsidies so far discussed at much less than £50.<sup>2</sup>

But if knighthood and a high assessment were not inseparable, wealth and future knighthoods were, for none of the families whose knights were low in the table produced further knights. Made when knighthoods were easier to come by, these men represented families which had seldom, if ever, been as wealthy as the more established knightly families and some were obviously in economic decline.

Only at the end of the reign does this pattern of knighting men only from the upper half of the table break down and here, with the exception of Richard Houghton, whose case is explained later,<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth cannot be held responsible, for the two Radcliffes and Cuthbert Halsall were made on the battle field.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 116; below, Chapter VI.

<sup>2</sup> Tables E, F, G; the raising of an assessment was not an inevitable consequence of knighthood - the assessments for Palmer of Angmering & Pelham remained stable at £66.13.4 and £40 respectively: table G, 1572, 1577.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 133.

Norfolk presents a similar picture. Eight of the fourteen families who gained no knighthood under Elizabeth were in apparent decline<sup>1</sup> with a further three unaccounted for by reason of their absence from the extant returns.<sup>2</sup> From other evidence, it is clear that the Blennerhassets were in decline later in the century for although assessed at £60 and well placed in 1577, William was later to be listed at £14 goods and £20 lands in a government survey of justices of the peace.<sup>3</sup> On the evidence of the subsidy returns, only two families appear to have been holding their own: the Doyleys of Shottesham and the Wyndhams of Felbrigge. The Doyleys provide no great problem since they were never high in the list although they were admittedly higher than some of their knighted contemporaries. Henry Doyley's Catholic sympathies may have prevented his being knighted.<sup>4</sup> This may also explain why Roger Wyndham, nearly at the top of the 1594-8 table<sup>5</sup> was not knighted, for although never indicted for recusancy, he was noted as coming seldom to church and never to sermons.<sup>6</sup> There is also a possibility that the subsidy rolls give a false picture here, for Dr. Smith maintains that Wyndham was in economic decline, using

---

<sup>1</sup> Audley, Clere of Stokesby, Farmer, Godsalve, Hobart, Sharnbourne, Spelman; Edward Paston, heir of Sir Thomas, apparently resident at Oxnead where he was assessed at £10. Oxnead was the house of his uncle, Clement: Proby MS. Transcript, f. 116d; R.W. Ketton-Cremer, The Pastons, Story of a Norfolk Family, 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Bedingfield, Calthorpe of Waxham, Waldegrave.

<sup>3</sup> Proby MS. Transcript, f. 118b; Harl. MS. 6822, f. 293b; Lansd. MS. 52, f. 200b; Hatfield MS. 278, f. 67b.

<sup>4</sup> Lansd. MS. 52, f. 200b; Smith, 216. Knighthood and religious sympathies are more fully discussed below, pp. 147-56.

<sup>5</sup> The assessment of £50 lands comes from E 179/152/482 (36 Eliz.); in 1598, his assessment had dropped to £40: E 179/152/493.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, 201.

as evidence a Star Chamber deposition that the 'ruinous and decayed state of his dwelling house' was a byword and that the pailings of his park were in a state of disrepair.<sup>1</sup> He also shows Wyndham actively pursuing, and being pursued by, his enemies through the courts,<sup>2</sup> an activity which must have strained his resources considerably. Poverty is a relative term, however, and if Wyndham remained a major landowner in the area, his high position in the subsidy table is justified. It may well be that litigation drained his resources and that he had little or nothing to spend on the repair of his house or fences but if he managed to hold on to all his lands - and it was upon the annual value of these rather than his house and fences that he was assessed - then his poverty would not become apparent in the return unless he was sympathetically treated by the subsidy commissioners. Apart from a lowering of his assessment by £10 between 1594 and 1598,<sup>3</sup> the evidence suggests that he was not, for he was on the weaker side of the local and county wide faction dispute, being opposed to his Puritan-inclined neighbours, the Heydons. Although they were also suffering an economic decline, the Heydons remained powerful members of what Dr. Smith calls the 'lieutenancy group' which managed to triumph in nearly every dispute in which it was involved.<sup>4</sup> When Norfolk was torn by faction, rivals may well have attempted to alter the subsidy books in their own favour. Thus when Sir Bassingbourne

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 201, 220.

<sup>3</sup> E 179/152/482, 493.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, 201-24.

Gawdy - a member of the Puritan, Heydon group<sup>1</sup> - was pricked as sheriff in 1601, his fear that while he was absent from the subsidy commission his rival Thomas Lovell might alter the subsidy books in his favour led him to conspire with Philip Gawdy to have Lovell's name removed also.<sup>2</sup> Even before this there had been squabbles between Gawdy and his Puritan allies on one side and the conservative Lovell on the other over the appointment of a subsidy collector.<sup>3</sup> Thus it is not without significance that Heydon, Clere of Ormesby and Gawdy all had relatively low assessments in 1598, while their enemies, Wyndham and Lovell - Catholic sympathizers into the bargain - both had high ones.<sup>4</sup> In Lovell's case the assessment appears to have been justified for he had maintained and even added to the landed wealth of the family.<sup>5</sup> Whether his lands were worth much more than Sir Edward Clere's, as the subsidy suggests, is a different matter. Sir Edward had been second only to the duke of Norfolk as a landowner, his name was suggested for a barony in 1589, and Dr. Smith found no sign of economic decline in Sir Edward's will.<sup>6</sup> One may also doubt whether Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy, possessing over 5,000 sheep and a sumptuous house including a hall, parlour, two galleries, and 26 bedrooms as well as movable effects to the value of £2312.3.11<sup>7</sup> was as far behind

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, 210, 216-17.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 132-3.

<sup>4</sup> Table F, 1596.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, 146.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 204.

<sup>7</sup> P. Millican, The Gawdys of Norfolk and Suffolk, 21.

Lovell as the subsidy assessment indicates.

The existence of faction in Norfolk, therefore, makes the evidence of the subsidy returns after 1580 difficult to interpret. Norfolk had become an exceptional county - witness the disproportionate amount of time given to its troubles by the Privy Council.<sup>1</sup> No conclusion for the whole country ought to be based on Norfolk evidence alone and conversely no conclusion from other areas is invalidated because of Norfolk evidence to the contrary. In the circumstances, what is important is not how often the Norfolk evidence deviates from that of the other counties but how often it approximates to it. Thus, the fact that a majority of the rejected knightly families were low in the subsidy tables and probably in economic decline while a majority of those retained were apparently more wealthy is of importance. Only two of the 15 heirs of pre-Elizabethan knightly families who were knighted under Elizabeth were placed low on the subsidy tables and, predictably, they were made in war.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of those Norfolk gentlemen who brought knighthoods to their lines for the first time did so in time of war and the low subsidy assessments of a number of them reflect their commanders' attitudes to knighthood and wealth rather than the queen's.<sup>3</sup> Bassingbourne Gawdy was

---

<sup>1</sup> See index entries in A.P.C.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Heydon and John Townshend of Rainham: Shaw, ii. 92. The other knightly families to receive further knighthoods from Elizabeth were Clere of Ormsby, Heveningham, Knyvett of Buckenham, Lovell of E. Harling, Paston of Paston, Southwell, Le Strange, Woodhouse of Kimberley and Woodhouse of Waxham: see tables B and F.

<sup>3</sup> John Peyton (1586), Miles Corbett, Robert Mansell, Robert Peyton and John Shelton (1596), John Heydon (1599): Shaw, ii. 85, 92-3, 97; table F, 1596. With the exception of Corbett, all these men were younger sons of knights: table B.

knighted in 1597 when faction was at its height, so his relatively low placing on the subsidy table need not surprise us.<sup>1</sup> Of the others made by the queen, Sir Thomas Gawdy was relatively well placed by 1587. He was also a judge, and his office had much to do with his knighthood, as did the office of mayor which Thomas Wood held when the queen progressed through the county.<sup>2</sup> His assessment has not been found, but in 1565 the queen decided against the knighting of the mayor of Coventry because his subsidy assessment was less than £40,<sup>3</sup> so we may assume that Wood was a reasonably wealthy man, as was the courtier Dru Drury, assessed at £80 lands in 1577 and knighted a year later.<sup>4</sup> Finally, while Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe was assessed at an unspectacular £40 the year before his knighthood, he was at least the peer (in assessment) of several members of established knightly families who received the honour at the same time.<sup>5</sup> Two men of knightly families (William Blennerhasset and Roger Wyndham), were assessed more highly and yet passed over, but Blennerhasset's assessment was soon to plummet, while Roger Wyndham, as we have seen, was at a disadvantage.<sup>6</sup>

The pattern of Sussex knighthoods confirms the impression that families in economic decline tended to leave the knightly ranks while

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 97; table F, 1596.

<sup>2</sup> Millican, op. cit. 58; Shaw, ii. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, Progresses, i. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Proby MS. Transcript, f. 121; A. Campling, History of the family of Drury in the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk from the Conquest, 59 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> William Paston, Roger Woodhouse of Kimberley, Henry Woodhouse of Waxham: Shaw, ii. 79.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 140-141.

those who were better off either remained in them or joined them. Of the ten knightly families which failed to gain an Elizabethan knighthood, six can be shown to have been on the decline, or (as in the case of Sir Edward Bellingham, knighted in Ireland in 1547), never to have been in the normally acceptable knightly income group.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, as far as can be ascertained, men new to the order, as well as those from established knightly families who received the honour were of good, and generally of very good, economic standing. All those knighted in 1573 are to be found in the top half of the table for 1572,<sup>2</sup> and with the exception of Sir Nicholas Parker, all those knighted in 1591 were assessed at £60 or more and were at the head of the subsidy table for the 1590's.<sup>3</sup>

There were two further exceptions: John Jeffray was well below the £60 group in 1577, yet he was knighted the same year.<sup>4</sup> Like Sir Thomas Cawdy of Claxton, Norfolk, and Sir Thomas Carus of Kirkby Lonsdale, he was a judge and owed his knighthood less to his standing in the county than to his work in the courts. Sussex was particularly fruitful in knighted lawyers during the century, for Sir John Ernley, Sir William Shelley and Sir Edmund Marvyn were also judges, and the tradition lasted to the end, for Richard Lewkenor of West Dean, assessed at £30 in 1595, was to be knighted before he took up his appointment as justice in Wales in

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 60; table G. Bellingham, Ernley, Fynes, Hussey, Marvyn, Poole.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, ii. 75; table G, 1572.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 88; table G, 1595; on Parker, see below pp. 148-9, 151.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, ii. 78.



March 1600.<sup>1</sup> Shelley's assessment was high but Ernley's, like Jeffray's and Lewkenor's, was only middling and it seems that the law, like war, was an avenue to the honour for the less wealthy.<sup>2</sup>

In general, therefore, wealth was a most important factor in the choosing of knights during the reign of Elizabeth and somewhat less important in the period preceding it. When the queen chose, poor knights were very much the exception. But the fact that she chose some demonstrates that her attitude was not inflexible and that men who were below the normally accepted income level might enter the order if they knew the right people or did the right job. Such an attitude was not new, however: the analysis of the three counties has shown that apart from exceptional knighthoods such as those for war and legal services, Henry VIII was almost equally insistent upon a high level of wealth for the prospective knight, an insistence that reflected the opinions of many contemporary theorists.<sup>3</sup> Henry and Elizabeth differed essentially in their attitude to the knighting of large numbers of men on the field of battle. The occasional deserving poorer gentleman approved by Elizabeth was one thing, the 'huddling up in half hundreds' by her generals over whose choice she had little control was another.

A certain standard of wealth was, however, a basic entrance requirement rather than a guarantee of a place in the order. Herbert Pelham, assessed at £50 in 1572, and earlier his father Anthony, both had, on grounds

---

<sup>1</sup> Table G, 1595; C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 415.

<sup>2</sup> Table G; E. Foss, Judges of England, v. 161-2, 326-9, 383-4, 471, 488-90, 513-4.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 21-25.

of wealth alone, better claims to a knighthood than John Pelham of Laughton, assessed at £40.<sup>1</sup> Yet it was John who was knighted in 1573. Other considerations, in this case probably the tradition of knighthoods in the family and the fact that the Laughton branch was the senior one,<sup>2</sup> carried weight. Pelham's knighthood is an example of the combination of birth and wealth upon which Elizabeth was to place so much emphasis in her instructions to her generals.

The two Pelhams were not the only substantial Sussex gentlemen to be passed over in the 1570's. William Shelley, Richard Covert, John Gage and William Dawtrey all appear in the subsidy table for 1572 above John Pelham and Thomas Shirley who were soon to be knighted.<sup>3</sup> Religious sympathies appear to have been important here: Shelley, Gage and Dawtrey were all marked recusants while Richard Covert was still making a gradual but thorough transition from hostility to support of the religious settlement.<sup>4</sup>

In Norfolk, the Bedingfields, Hobarts, Waldegraves and Wyndhams were among those families with strong Catholic affiliations who received no knighthood under Elizabeth,<sup>5</sup> while the Doyleys, also unknighted during the

---

<sup>1</sup> Mouseley, 665.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 652.

<sup>3</sup> Table G, 1572.

<sup>4</sup> Mouseley, 718-20; 495-6; 530; R.B. Manning, 'Catholics and Local Office Holding in Elizabethan Sussex', *B.I.H.R.* xxxv (1962), 54-5. Dawtrey conformed after his second marriage, however, and was rewarded by being made a j.p: Lady Maxse, *Petworth in Ancient Times*, 13.

<sup>5</sup> K. Bedingfield, *The Bedingfields of Oxburgh*, 46-51; 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales', ed. P. Ryan et. al. *C.R.S.* xxii (1921), 54; *Recusant Roll, 1592-3*, ed. M.M.C. Calthrop (*C.R.S.* xviii), 111, 113. For Waldegrave, Ryan, *loc. cit.* 58; Calthrop, *loc. cit.* 228, 231; *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, ed. C. Talbot (*C.R.S.* liii), 113, 187. For Wyndham, Smith, 201, 208.

reign, were not above suspicion.<sup>1</sup>

In Lancashire, Francis Tunstall (the son of Sir Marmaduke Tunstall), the Southworths, the Townleys and the Gerards of Bryn were all imprisoned for recusancy from time to time, Sir John Holcroft of Holcroft was rated as a recusant in 1577, and the Bradshaws, Irelands, Prestons, Farringtons, Langtons, Norrises, Osbaldestones, Bolds and Shirburnes all had Catholic affiliations.<sup>2</sup> Some appear low in the subsidy tables<sup>3</sup> which may indicate an additional reason for their failure to obtain knighthoods, but in all three counties there were others, such as William Shelley of Michelgrove, Richard Shirbourne of Stoneyhurst and Roger Wyndham of Felbrigg, who were at the top of their respective tables<sup>4</sup> yet who were passed over, almost certainly for religious reasons. Elizabeth made no distinction between rich and poor Catholics. However, when a man's Catholicism was tempered by social ambition, his loyalty to the crown apparent, and his case argued by influential friends, his faith did not necessarily bar him from the order. Both Nicholas Parker and John Caryl, knighted at Cowdray in 1591,<sup>5</sup> had Catholic affiliations. Although Nicholas Parker had a recusant past (his father was put out of the commission for his faith in 1564 and Nicholas was himself reported

<sup>1</sup> Lansd. MS. 52, f. 200b.

<sup>2</sup> J. Gillow, 'Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire, 1590', *C.R.S.* iv, 166, 178, 179-80, 180-1, 182, 184-5, 193, 199, 202, 206-7, 208; J.S. Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants* (Chetham Soc. N. Ser. cx), 74, 86-8, 109, 139; Gibson, *Lydiat Hall*, 206-7, 215, 227-8, 244, 257; Watson, 338.

<sup>3</sup> Table E, 1550.

<sup>4</sup> Tables E, F, G.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 88.

as being suspect in religion and a follower of the dangerous nobility in the county in 1585; even as late as 1587 his reliability as a justice of the peace was questioned on the grounds that he was sheltering his recusant mother-in-law), he was a loyal servant of the government for he had been appointed deputy lieutenant by 1591 and was on a commission for disarming recusants in 1592.<sup>1</sup> By this stage Parker may have completed an exchange of his religious loyalties for high office, a procedure which the compiler of a survey of justices of the peace had advocated in the case of the newly-conforming William Dawtrey in 1587.<sup>2</sup>

John Caryll of Warnham appears to have been even more deeply committed to the Catholic camp, figuring in the recusancy returns as soon as he achieved his majority in 1577. Thereafter he was pursued by the authorities constantly, at least until 1584.<sup>3</sup> In 1587, however, his name is missing from two lists of recusants nor does it appear in the return of 1592, although his son is included.<sup>4</sup> Thus although the Caryll family remained generally within the Catholic fold, and although Sir John kept

<sup>1</sup> Mauseley, 646-7.

<sup>2</sup> Manning, loc. cit. 56; Gillow, loc. cit. 175 gives another example.

<sup>3</sup> Manning, loc. cit. 59-60.

<sup>4</sup> 'Certificate concerning the justices of the peace in Sussex in 1587', ed. H. Ellis, S.A.C. ii (1849), 62; H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. iv. 263; Manning, loc. cit. 60, confuses the father and son, both Johns: the return refers to John Caryll, Esquire. It was probably also this man who was again in trouble in 1600 rather than the father (as Manning and Mauseley, 453, have it) for he is described as Sir John Carrell, junior: C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 524. John junior was not in fact knighted until 1603 (Shaw, ii. 112), but it seems more likely that the knighthood was a slip of the pen than the description 'junior'.

his Catholic friends (he was concerned with the property affairs of the staunchly Catholic countess of Arundel at least until 1602),<sup>1</sup> his attitude had mellowed and he was making at least a show of conformity by the late 1580's. It may not be without significance that he was pricked as sheriff in November 1588 and that he contributed at the highest rate of £100 towards the Armada loan.<sup>2</sup> The demonstration of loyalty continued after his knighthood for in 1599 he brought more horses and arms to Eltham than he was obliged to bring.<sup>3</sup> John was not the only member of the Caryll family to manifest a change of heart, for his uncle and guardian, Edward of Shipley and Harting, a steward of Arundel, in the Tower as late as 1585 and still regarded with suspicion in a report on justices of the peace and others in 1587, was restored to the commission in 1591 and made of the quorum in 1594.<sup>4</sup>

It may have been to encourage this show of conformity on the part of this leading recusant family that it was decided to knight John Caryll in 1591, but there were other factors also at work. The fact that he was knighted at Cowdray suggests a Montague connexion. At least two of the six knighted on that occasion appear to have been Montague nominees - his second son, George, and his son-in-law, Robert Dormer<sup>5</sup> - and Caryll,

<sup>1</sup> Mauseley, 453.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O. Sheriffs; M.A. Lower, 'Sussex Gentry in 1588', S.A.C. i (1848), 35.

<sup>3</sup> Mauseley, 453.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 458.

<sup>5</sup> The Brownes and the Dormers were well linked by marriage. Lord Montague's eldest son and a daughter had married Dormers: A.A. Dibben, The Cowdray Archives, i. table following p. xxxviii; G.E.C. iv. 412

who was later to be linked through the marriage of a daughter to both families may have been a third.<sup>1</sup> To give Montague some say in the choice of the knights made may have been Elizabeth's way of showing her appreciation for the six days entertainment she had enjoyed and of recognising that his Catholicism had not affected his loyalty to the crown.

Similarly, Sir Nicholas Parker may have owed both his high office as deputy-lieutenant and his knighthood not only to his changing religious attitude but also to his relationship to the lord-lieutenant, lord Buckhurst, whose great nephew he was,<sup>2</sup> and he may have been helped on this occasion by the fact that lord Howard of Effingham, joint lord-lieutenant of Sussex with lord Buckhurst, actually performed the ceremony and may have influenced the choice of candidates.<sup>3</sup>

If Parker and Caryll did owe their knighthoods to the lord admiral, they were not the only Catholic sympathizers to do so. One of his daughters had married Robert Southwell of Woodrising and Southwell was appointed rear admiral in 1588 and deputy lieutenant of Norfolk in 1594 and 1596.<sup>4</sup> Doubtless, Southwell owed his knighthood to his father-in-law, being knighted at court in June, 1585.<sup>5</sup> Wealth was also on his side for he was one of two Norfolk gentlemen considered rich enough to support a

<sup>1</sup> Vis. Sx. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Parker's grandmother was the sister of Thomas, lord Buckhurst: Mauseley, 645.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, Progresses, iii. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Dashwood, i. 127; Smith, 415.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 83.

barony.<sup>1</sup> Yet Southwell was at heart a Catholic: in 1587 he was described as 'backwards' in religion, 'A young and inexperienced knight whose associates for the most parte are Popish',<sup>2</sup> ~~in 1588 his son was listed as a recusant and in 1597 Sir Robert was accused of holding mass in his house.~~<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, Sir Roger Townshend and his son Sir John, both of whom may have had Catholic sympathies, owed their knighthoods to the lord admiral who knighted the father at sea in 1588 and the son on the Cadiz expedition.<sup>3</sup> Sir John's rivalry with the puritan-inclined Heydons<sup>4</sup> is no proof of his Catholicism, but the Braconashe Townshends were under suspicion<sup>5</sup> and it is probable that Sir John sympathized with the old religion. As with Southwell, Parker and Caryll, the Townshends were making a show of conformity and Sir John was ambitious to re-establish the position of the family after the setback it had suffered by his father's support of the duke of Norfolk.<sup>6</sup>

Another Norfolk gentleman whom a combination of a weakening in Catholic sympathies and the accident of war helped to a knighthood was Nicholas LeStrange, grandson and heir of Sir Nicholas who died in 1580.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lansd. MS. 104, f. 52b; see also Table F.

<sup>2</sup> Lansd. MS. 52, f. 201; ~~'Recusants and Priests, March 1588', ed. J.H. Pollen, C.R.S. xii (1921), 120; Smith, 173.~~

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 86; E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England, x. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, 314.

<sup>5</sup> Lansd. MS. 52, f. 200b.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, 315.

<sup>7</sup> D.N.B.

Like Sir Roger Townshend, this Sir Nicholas had shared in the duke of Norfolk's disgrace, for he had been his chief seneschal.<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas was a firm Catholic<sup>2</sup> but his grandson may have been less ardent for he is not found on any of the recusancy returns. He cannot have been free from suspicion, however, for he never became a justice of the peace or sheriff and his subsidy assessment was not unreasonable.<sup>3</sup> Knighted in Ireland in 1589 he is a further example of a Catholic who slipped in through the back door of foreign campaigns.<sup>4</sup>

How and when Sir Thomas Knyvett of Buckenham acquired his knighthood remains something of a mystery. Thomas had married into the recusant Lovell family<sup>5</sup> and was listed for recusancy in 1588 without a title.<sup>6</sup> He must have been knighted some time between paying his taxes in 1593 when he was returned as an esquire and his death in 1594 when the inquisition post mortem found him to be a knight.<sup>7</sup> Why he was knighted is difficult to explain unless he was afflicted with the same sort of ambition as drove his brother-in-law Thomas Lovell of East Harling to an open renunciation of his former faith at court.

The Lovell family had been recusants from the first Elizabethan inquiry in 1564.<sup>8</sup> Thomas, who succeeded his knighted father of the same

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, 169.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Table F, 1577.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, ii. 87.

<sup>5</sup> F. Blomefield, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, i. 380.

<sup>6</sup> Pollen, loc. cit. 120.

<sup>7</sup> E 179/152/470; C 142/244/127.

<sup>8</sup> 'A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council', ed. M. Bateson, Camden Miscellany, ix (1893), 58.



name in 1568 was listed as a recusant in 1577 and committed the next year when he was bound over to remain in Norwich and not to depart without the bishop's license.<sup>1</sup> He conformed in order to get away the same year but it was not a genuine conversion for he was suspected and 'reputed backwards' in 1587 and listed as a recusant the following year with his mother and son.<sup>2</sup> However, his faith was proving an obstacle to his advancement in local politics and he deemed such advancement necessary if he was to get the better of - or even fight on equal terms with - his bitter rivals and neighbours the Gawdys of West Harling.<sup>3</sup>

The year 1592 found him at court, openly confessing his break with the past and his reconciliation to the Anglican church, and in 1598 he bought his way back on to the commission<sup>4</sup> and, in order not to sit below Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy, who was knighted in 1597,<sup>5</sup> strove also for a knighthood, 'for which he flewe suche a pitche as no man did these twenty years.' He was unsuccessful then but had prevailed by June 1601.<sup>6</sup> Even when allowance has been made for Gawdy's bias, the three incidents he describes (and Lovell's career in general), give a good picture of how the persistent might obtain the prize if they were willing to pay enough, court the right people and swallow their religious principles.

---

<sup>1</sup> G.L. Harison, 'A few notes on the Lovells of East Harling', Norf. Arch. xviii (1914), 58-59; Ryan, loc. cit. 56; Talbot, op. cit. 113.

<sup>2</sup> A.P.C. 1577-8, 333; Lansd. MS. 52, f. 200b; Pollen, loc. cit. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, 120-46, gives a full account of the Gawdy-Lovell disputes.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 134-8.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, 1579-1610, ed. I.H. Jeayes, 111; Smith, 143 n.3.

It was not only Catholics, however, who benefited from the good offices of an influential courtier. At least three Elizabethan Lancashire knighthoods are best explained in these terms. Richard Houghton, knighted in 1599, was not in the normal income group for knights.<sup>1</sup> The son of an ardent Catholic, Richard had been made a ward of Sir Gilbert Gerard and brought up a strict protestant. Gillow suggests that his knighthood was the queen's reward for his defection from Rome,<sup>2</sup> part of a government plan to encourage Catholic families to do likewise. There were officials anxious to urge such a policy on the government, it is true,<sup>3</sup> but in Houghton's case the Gerard connexion seems more important, for he married one of his guardian's daughters and was knighted at court where Sir Thomas Gerard, Houghton's brother-in-law, had been appointed knight marshall in 1597.<sup>4</sup> When Chamberlain noted Houghton's knighthood in one of his many letters to Dudley Carleton, he showed clearly how much a knighthood might depend upon such a relationship by relating how a would-be knight had been disappointed because his sponsor and father-in-law, lord Anderson, had offended the queen at the crucial moment.<sup>5</sup>

The Gerards were quite impartial in their treatment of their in-laws. Like Houghton, Peter Leigh and Richard Molyneux were both turned into at least conforming Anglicans, and both received knighthoods at court,

---

<sup>1</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 222; see table E, 1599.

<sup>2</sup> Gillow, loc. cit. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Manning, loc. cit. 56.

<sup>4</sup> G.E.C. v. 635.

<sup>5</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 222.

Molyneux through the services of his father-in-law Sir Gilbert and Leigh, like Houghton, with the help of his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas.<sup>1</sup>

The Gerards displayed an unusual combination of missionary zeal and concern for the social status of their women-folk, and in this they may have been unique. But they were not unique in their desire to have in-laws of the right social standing. In 1591 Sir Michael Stanhope obtained a knighthood for his nephew John Holles, who married the only daughter of his brother Thomas Stanhope;<sup>2</sup> Edward Hobby was knighted at Somerset Place 'the day after his marriage with the baron Hunsdon's daughter in 1582;<sup>3</sup> lord Anderson attempted to do the same for his son-in-law;<sup>4</sup> and Sir Nicholas Bacon might have used his influence in the knighting of his son-in-law, Henry Woodhouse.<sup>5</sup>

Familiarity with the court was often as effective as marrying into the family of a prominent courtier: Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy's father was a courtier, as was his brother Philip, this latter relationship being fruitful of much more than the knighthood in 1597.<sup>6</sup> The Townshends of Rainham also had close court connexions: Sir Roger was a knight of the

---

<sup>1</sup> T.E. Gibson, Lydiat Hall, 243-5. Molyneux was knighted in 1586 when Sir Gilbert was master of the rolls: Shaw, ii. 84; G.E.C. v. 635. Leigh was dubbed in 1598 when Sir Thomas was knight marshal: W. Beaumont, History of the House of Lyme, 114; G.E.C. v. 635.

<sup>2</sup> W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Talbot and Stanhope: an episode in Elizabethan Politics', B.I.H.R. xxxiii (1960), 76.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 81.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 222.

<sup>5</sup> Vis. Norf. 321.

<sup>6</sup> E 179/69/93; Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 241, f. 32b; Jeayes, op. cit. passim.

body at the time that he was knighted between 1518 and 1522;<sup>1</sup> his great-grandson, heir and namesake, too much of a courtier and official of Norfolk's and Arundel's to take much interest in county affairs,<sup>2</sup> probably owed his knighthood in the war of 1588 to his association over the years with lord Howard of Effingham who knighted him; and Sir Roger's son was also knighted by Howard.<sup>3</sup> Sir William Woodhouse is listed as one of the gentlemen who resided principally at the court, where he appears to have joined the Essex faction, being knighted by the earl in 1591.<sup>4</sup> Sir Dru Drury's knighthood in 1579 must also owe much to the fact that he had held court office since the accession of Elizabeth and married one of her ladies-in-waiting who was also a close relative of the queen.<sup>5</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that the queen's parsimony, reluctance, or determination to turn the order into an exclusive caste of rich well born and Anglican gentlemen, might on occasion be overcome by the word of an influential courtier. The Elizabethan courtier's ability to influence the crown's choice of knights was not new. Marmaduke Tunstall, knighted in 1533, probably owed the honour to his uncle and guardian, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, who had trained him for public life.<sup>6</sup> Richard Houghton's knighthood in the early 1520's may have been the work of the Stanley family,

<sup>1</sup> L.P. ii (2), 4562; 2735; ibid. iii (2), 2712.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, 314.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 86; E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England, x. 104.

<sup>4</sup> SP 12/269, f. 88b; Shaw, ii, 89.

<sup>5</sup> A. Campling, History of the Drury Family, 81; Smith, 42-43.

<sup>6</sup> Watson, 512.

for Houghton was a member of the earl of Derby's council a little later.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that Derby was expecting to recommend knights at the coronation of 1533 and at least three Lancastrians knighted on that occasion had Derby connexions, and two of these had unimpressive positions in the subsidy tables of the 1520's.<sup>2</sup>

But courtiers could obstruct as well as advance: Derby's letter of 1533 bears this construction and there is no other reasonable explanation for Henry Goring's wait until the end of his life for his knighthood. One of the principal landowners in Sussex throughout the period, an active justice of the peace and sheriff, strongly approved on religious grounds in the reports of 1564 and 1587, Goring was knighted only four years before his death when he was 70 years old.<sup>3</sup> The Gorings had found it difficult to accept the elevation of the Sackvilles to the peerage and their subsequent preeminence in the affairs of the county and open hostility had ensued,<sup>4</sup> but by 1591 this hostility, and county faction in general, had died down.<sup>5</sup> Goring may have been knighted to sugar the pill he was at last prepared to swallow. The delay in the knighting of Henry Goring who had made an enemy of a prominent courtier may be contrasted

---

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C. 6th Report, Appendix, 444.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp.74-75; Thomas Halsall, Henry Farrington, James Stanley: Watson, 292-3, 617; see also below, table E. William Norris, knighted a little earlier, was also low in the table and connected with the earl of Derby. Other courtiers used their influence: Thomas Gargrave acknowledged Shrewsbury's aid when he was knighted in 1548: *History of Parliament biography*.

<sup>3</sup> Bateson, loc. cit. 10; 'Certificate concerning the justices of the peace in Sussex in 1587', ed. H. Ellis, S.A.C. ii (1849), 59.

<sup>4</sup> Mauseley, 265-6.

<sup>5</sup> Mauseley, 276.

with the ease with which his courtier father was knighted early in his career in 1526.<sup>1</sup>

There is yet another negative aspect to the question. To be a client of a man out of favour could be a disadvantage: the case of lord Anderson's son-in-law is but one example.<sup>2</sup> In Lancashire, several men linked with the earl of Derby did not become knights in the reign of Elizabeth. Indeed, where court influence can be detected it is the up and coming Gerards of Bromley rather than the ancient family of Stanley who appear successfully to have pulled strings.<sup>3</sup> Richard Shirburne, who in 1594 succeeded his father as butler in Lancashire,<sup>4</sup> a position for which he had the earl of Derby to thank, did not become a knight although economically he was well placed.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the family's Catholic leanings worked against him: his father had been considered 'unfavourable' in 1564, reported by an informer as recusant in 1584 and again in a more official document in <sup>1588</sup> 1591.<sup>6</sup> But such informations had not worked against John Caryll of Warnham nor did they prevent either Sir Thomas Shirburne or his son from holding local offices over which the earl appears to have retained control.<sup>7</sup> The careers of William Farrington and Richard Bold

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 155-6.

<sup>4</sup> Somerville, i. 491.

<sup>5</sup> Table E, 1599.

<sup>6</sup> Bateson, loc. cit. 77; Gibson, op. cit. 227; Gillow, loc. cit. 178; <sup>see below, p. 256, n. 1</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Sir Thomas was Derby's treasurer, retained his place on the commission of the peace despite an unfavourable report in 1564, was butler of Lancashire, and a member of numerous ad hoc commissions: Watson, 477-8.

who had Catholic sympathies and of Robert Hesketh who did not, follow a similar pattern<sup>1</sup> and lead to the conclusion that the later earls of Derby, who were much less prominent figures at court than their forebears, were able to provide the kernel of power for their followers but not the husk of social glory. In fact, whereas a close connexion with the third earl had been an advantage in reaching the status of knight, a close connexion with his son and grandsons appears to have been a drawback.

Birth, wealth, religion, connexions all played their part in the making of a knight but opportunity was also a good thing (although not, as E.P. Cheyney suggests, the only factor).<sup>2</sup> For reasons which have escaped detection, Sussex gentlemen do not seem to have been well placed to take advantage of either coronations or wars, and the royal progresses of 1526, 1573 and 1591 were the main providers of Sussex knights. Clearly, to have been a minor or out of favour in any of these years was a major hindrance to knightly ambitions. No Tudor after Henry VII made a tour of Lancashire, however, and, in contrast to their Sussex brethren, all Lancashire gentlemen had to travel for their honour: to Scotland in the 1540's, to foreign fields towards the end of the century, to the court or to parliament. Unwillingness, or the lack of opportunity, to do one of these effectively shut the door to knighthood. The gentlemen of Elizabethan Norfolk seem to have been in the best position to exploit all types of opportunity, which probably accounts for the county's

---

<sup>1</sup> Their offices are outlined briefly in Watson, 232-3, 294-5, 329.

<sup>2</sup> History of England from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth, ii. 342.

especially large complement of knights. Willing to hazard their lives in war, they also had easy access to court and courtiers, while their county also witnessed a royal progress. There is clearly no reason why Thomas Wood should be the only sixteenth century mayor of Norwich to be knighted except that he had the good fortune to be in office during the queen's visit.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, there is nothing to suggest that John Caryll of Warnham, Sussex, would have been knighted had it not been for the queen's decision to visit Lord Montague during the progress of 1591.<sup>2</sup>

Caryll's public career, or lack of one, brings into question the widely held notion, recently expressed by Dr. Cornwall, that 'kighthood was a reward for service.'<sup>3</sup> Doubtless, service was rewarded in this way at times, both on the battlefield and in civil spheres.<sup>4</sup> The London mercer William Lock was knighted for removing a papal interdict against Henry VIII from Dunkirk,<sup>5</sup> and men engaged in the solid (if less spectacular) tasks of central administration were not passed over. The office of secretary tended to carry a kighthood with it<sup>6</sup> and enough royal judges were honoured (in Sussex, at least, without being well-qualified in terms of wealth)<sup>7</sup> to suggest that this post was similar in respect of kighthood.

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 88.

<sup>3</sup> J. Cornwall, 'The Early Tudor Gentry', Econ. H.R. 2nd Ser. xvii (1965), 464.

<sup>4</sup> On kighthood in battle, see below, pp. 221-2.

<sup>5</sup> Autobiography of Sir John Branston, K.B., ed. P. Braybrooke, Camden Soc. xxxii (1845), 9.

<sup>6</sup> F.G. Emmison, Tudor Secretary, 47-48.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 145-6.



In addition, Henry VIII began the tradition of knighting every lord mayor of London: between 1500 and 1520, 12 mayors left their office unknighted but none was to do so for the rest of the century.<sup>1</sup> Once a tradition had been established, however, the element of reward for service was to some extent lessened and the knighthood became a formality or even a social distinction. The anonymous author of a programme of reform to be set before the parliament of 1559 clearly saw knighthoods of this kind as a recognition of status rather than of service, for he suggested that no merchant should purchase land worth more than £50 per annum except the alderman and sheriffs of London who should be allowed to purchase up to £200 'because they approach the degree of knighthood.'<sup>2</sup> It is more difficult to determine how far knighthood was a reward for faithful work in local administration. Professor Stone asserts that it was the main incentive to undertake public service;<sup>3</sup> Dr. Thrupp implies that it ought to have been when she comments on the fourteenth and fifteenth century decline in the number of knights that the 'ideas of knighthood were failing to kindle enthusiasm for the governmental work of the counties';<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Swales accounts for Richard Shirley's knighthood in terms of 'recognition of his faithful service in local government'.<sup>5</sup> In Shirley's case there is evidence enough to support the contention, but Shirley's

---

<sup>1</sup> Based on A.B. Beaven, Aldermen of the City of London, i.

<sup>2</sup> H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Crisis, 122.

<sup>4</sup> S.L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500, 276.

<sup>5</sup> Swales, ii. 246.

connexions with the court and his numerous influential friends and relatives who included the attorney general and a chief justice of common pleas and not least his marriage in 1525, the year before his knighthood, to the daughter of that prominent courtier Sir Richard Guildford, K.G.,<sup>1</sup> might explain his knighthood equally satisfactorily, perhaps more so when it is noted that Sir William Goring, knighted at the same time,<sup>2</sup> had yet to become a sheriff and justice of the peace. Like Shirley, Goring was a courtier by the 1530's<sup>3</sup> and may have been one earlier.

The progress of 1573 gives further examples of men with poor records of service being knighted. Thomas Palmer of Angmering had been appointed to the commission of the peace only the year before<sup>4</sup> and had done little enough in local government to merit a reward. Palmer was sheriff during the progress and this may have influenced the choice, but his counterpart during the visit of 1591, Herbert Pelham, did not receive the honour.

Herbert's relative John, knighted in 1573, did not have an outstanding record, having served as a justice of the peace only since 1565 and only one term as sheriff, 1571-2.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Shirley's record was even poorer for he had never been a sheriff and was appointed to the commission of the peace only in 1573.<sup>6</sup> The mark which these men had made upon local

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. ii. 245-6.

<sup>2</sup> 1526. See table C.

<sup>3</sup> Swales, ii. 234.

<sup>4</sup> Mauseley, 636.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 655.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 735-6.

administration may be judged by their low placings on the commission of the peace before their knighthoods and the injustice of their awards - if they were for service - may be seen in the fact that all three had not served as many years as justice of the peace and only as many terms as sheriff as Henry Goring, a justice of the peace since 1558 and sheriff in 1562 and 1569, sound in religion, yet passed over until 1591.<sup>1</sup>

Like Sir William Goring, however, all three had court connexions, especially Shirley whose patron was the earl of Leicester and whose family was connected with a number of influential families including the Walsinghams.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, all had represented their county in parliament in 1571 or 1572 and may have used their time in London to press their claims. Perhaps more important, they were men destined to fill a vacuum caused by the decline in influence of Catholic families like the Dawtreys and the Shelleys and the elevation to the peerage of the Sackvilles and the Wests.

Finally, in 1591 it was not John Caryll's service in local administration which was being rewarded and although Goring, Parker and Covert had illustrious records, a sufficient number of Sussex knights were honoured without one to suggest that there were other factors at work: Parker's relationship to Buckhurst, Caryll's to Montague and, in a different way Goring's relationship to Buckhurst have already been mentioned.

---

<sup>1</sup> Lansd. MS. 1218, ff. 30, 81; C.P.R. 1560-63, 443; Egerton MS. 2345, f. 34; P.R.O. Sheriffs; Shaw, ii. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Mauseley, 734-6; Pelham's father-in-law was Oliver, lord St. John of Bletsoe: *ibid.* 656; Palmer's grandfather was William, lord Sandys: *ibid.* 635.

A similar pattern obtained in Norfolk and Lancashire. When those who, under Elizabeth, had been knighted at the front, or because of the office they held, or through the influence of a courtier, have been deducted, only nine out of a total of thirty eight names remain, and some of those nine may owe their knighthoods to a connexion which has not been detected. None of the public careers of these nine men reveals an outstanding record of service in local administration before knighthood. Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe had held none of the four prominent county positions of justice of the peace, sheriff, deputy lieutenant and knight of the shire; John Radcliffe was knighted while representing his county in parliament but had held no other position.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Butler had served once as sheriff and twice as knight of the shire; William Heydon and Arthur Heveningham had been justices of the peace but nothing else; William Paston and Ralph Shelton had rather more service behind them, having been justices of the peace for 20 and 12 years respectively and sheriff once each; but only Edmund Trafford had held three positions: justice of the peace from at least 1575, sheriff in 1564 and 1570, he was knighted while serving as knight of the shire. Trafford, Radcliffe and Woodhouse were members of the parliament of 1572 and were knighted during its currency (although not during a session). Their presence in London (where they were dubbed) may have aided their chances and in the case of Radcliffe some sort of court connexion is apparent for his daughter was

---

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the information in the following pages is taken from P.R.O. Sheriffs; Parl. Rets; and the sources noted in table K.

to become one of the queen's favourite maids of honour.<sup>1</sup>

There were many men in all three counties with longer and more impressive records of service who did not receive the honour. The recital of the careers of a few must suffice but it should be noted that they may not be the best examples, for they are taken almost entirely from the family studies, from the careers of men who could not conjure enough support, wealth or enthusiasm to gain the prize of knighthood. Such men may come therefore from families already on the decline and it is not surprising that some of them, especially in Norfolk, had unspectacular careers. What is important is that a number were at least as active and in some cases more active in local government than their knighted neighbours yet their services went unrewarded.

In Norfolk, William Blennerhassett had a consistent record as a justice of the peace, while Henry Doyley in addition to such a record was sheriff twice. In Sussex Richard Bellingham was sheriff three times and justice of the peace from at least 1538 until his death in 1552. His son Edward replaced him on the commission remaining there until at least 1562 and was sheriff in 1567. William Ashburnham was sheriff three times between 1506 and 1523 and a justice of the peace from 1508 to 1515.<sup>2</sup> In Lancashire, John Atherton led a full public life becoming sheriff, justice of the peace and knight of the shire; Francis Holt was a justice and sheriff; Robert Worsley was a justice of the peace, and held many

---

<sup>1</sup> Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories, ii. ed. G.J. Piccope (Chetham Soc. Old Ser. 11) 68.

<sup>2</sup> Probably longer, but there is no extant commission for at least a decade. P.R.O. Sheriffs; C.P.R. 1494-1509, 662; L.P. ii (1), 1160.

offices including the keepership of the New Fleet prison, Salford;<sup>1</sup> Edward Holland was a regular justice of the peace while his son, who succeeded him in 1570, was sheriff four times, a regular justice and, like Worsley, zealous furtherer of protestantism;<sup>2</sup> Thomas Talbot was twice sheriff and a regular justice; Richard Ashton was sheriff twice and a justice of the peace; and Robert Hesketh was sheriff, justice of the peace and knight of the shire. Most of them were also concerned with military matters in the county.<sup>3</sup> Yet none of these men became knights.

Hard work in local administration may have brought its rewards but knighthood was not necessarily one of them. It is not the purpose of this part of the chapter to argue that public service was never rewarded by a knighthood but to show that <sup>the</sup> connexion between the two was a tenuous yet complex one into which a number of factors might intrude. Wealth had always been important and became more so at the end of the century, but birth, connexions, opportunity and religion were all contributory factors from time to time. It is perhaps not surprising that no absolute rules of selection emerge, for knighthood was above all a royal act, bestowed at will. The exception to general practice was thus of the essence. Bestowed normally upon the rich but occasionally upon the middling, upon firm supporters of the royal supremacy but sometimes upon waverers, upon those industrious in the service of the state but also at times upon the seemingly apathetic, upon new families as well as those of

---

<sup>1</sup> Watson, 527.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 349.

<sup>3</sup> Watson, following The Lancashire Lieutenancy, i & ii, ed. J. Harland (Chetham Soc. xlix & l), gives the office of deputy lieutenant to a number of these men. But see below, pp. 284-6.

a distinguished heritage, knighthood was a most tangible aspect of the royal prerogative. Thus Elizabeth was able to honour John Caryll, with a dark past and a suspect present, in the same year as her faithful and industrious servant Walter Covert.

The Puritan-inclined Covert may have wondered that he, who had served his sovereign so faithfully and enthusiastically for so many years as justice, sheriff and deputy lieutenant, should have to wait until 1591 to be honoured almost at the same time as John Caryll, who, like the prodigal son, was only just coming to accept home discipline. It may have taken all the faith he could muster to believe that the sovereign could shower her blessings alike on the faithful and unfaithful and that she might honour whom she would. But perhaps it was not too difficult for him to accept. He was, after all, a Puritan and the queen's was a philosophy he should have understood well. He could at least comfort himself with the thought that Elizabeth was following the rules of a higher kingdom where honour was bestowed not according to the merits of the subject but by the unfathomable grace of its sovereign.

## Chapter V

### Lords and Commons

The discovery that Tudor monarchs were not bound by inflexible rules when they chose their knights must not be allowed to obscure the equally important fact that normally a number of general considerations did prevail. Of these, wealth and lineage were especially mentioned by Elizabeth and it has been argued above that only the bellicose foreign policy of Henry VIII masks an identity of views which existed between father and daughter. If wealth and lineage were important, then no group was better qualified to enter the order than the peerage, and no discussion of the nature of Tudor knighthood would be complete without an attempt to determine the relationship between knighthood and the peerage.

Lists of peers alive in 1523, 1550, 1577 and 1600 have been compiled largely from the subsidy rolls<sup>1</sup> and have been checked against a list of peers for the whole century compiled from the Complete Peerage and Miss

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/69/45 (1547 corrected for 1550); E 179/69/90, 91 for 1577; E 179/69/113a (1601 corrected for 1600). The list for 1577 has been checked against a list of peers for 1577 among the herald Francis Thynne's papers: Stowe MS. 1047, f. 245-245b. This list contains two who are not included in my list, lords Strange and Russell, both of whom were the sons and heirs of living earls, and using courtesy titles. Both were summoned to parliament in their own right before their fathers' deaths, but not before 1577.



Miller's study of the early Tudor peerage.<sup>1</sup> Writs of summons have also been used, although, as far as knighthood is concerned, they created confusion rather than spread light because a convention of styling barons 'chivaler'. The style appears hardly at all before the summonses to the parliament of 1425 but thereafter few barons are not styled in this way, although some are occasionally called miles.<sup>2</sup> Even in non-parliamentary documents a distinction is made between knighted earls, whose knighthood is never part of their title (Henry, earl of Arundel, John, earl of Bath), and knighted barons, whose knighthood is faithfully added (Richard Rich, knight, lord Rich, William Pagett, knight, lord Pagett).<sup>3</sup> The style is thus exclusive to barons and may well have become part of their parliamentary title. If this were so, however, it is difficult to explain why the writs of summons of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary omit the style from a large number of barons - thirteen in the summonses to Mary's first parliament were not styled 'chivaler'. Indeed, the only explanation which seems to fit is the carelessness of the clerks. It cannot have been an attempt to differentiate between knighted and non-knighted barons,

---

<sup>1</sup> G.E.C. unacknowledged biographical information comes from this source; *The Early Tudor Peerage, 1485-1547* (unpublished London M.A. Thesis, 1950), Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Reports from the Lords' Committees touching the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, iv, passim, for the period up to 1483; C.C.R. 1485-1500 for Henry VII's parliaments; L.P. for those of Henry VIII until about 1530; thereafter C 218/1. The use of miles is confined to the fifteenth century. C.C.R. 1485-1500, 255, says that twenty-five viscounts were styled 'chivaler', obviously an error for barons as there were not that number of viscounts alive at the time.

<sup>3</sup> For these and other examples, C.P.R. 1553-4, 65, 71, 72. See also E 163/12/6.

for an analysis of the names shows that the majority of those who were not styled 'chivaler' were in fact knights. Neither is there consistency of styling: lords Abergavenny and Dudley (both knights) were not styled 'chivaler' in 1553, but were thereafter, while lords Burgh, Vaux and Talbot (also knights) were consistently without the style throughout the reign. The confusion is compounded by the discovery that on occasion, men were returned to the lower house as 'miles et chivaler'.<sup>1</sup> But at least one point seems clear: the terms chivaler and knight are not to be equated, and thus writs of summons have not been regarded as sufficient evidence of a peer's knighthood.

As far as numbers are concerned, the pattern of knighting of the Tudor peerage does not follow that of Tudor knights in general. Between 1523 and 1550, the period of substantial increase in common knights, the number of knighted peers rose only slightly from 38 to 42. The return to 40 in 1577 follows the common pattern, although without the same vehemence, but a further decrease to 33 in <sup>1600</sup>~~1580~~ runs against the upward trend in common knights. None of this is as remarkable as it might appear at first sight. The lack of a steep rise between 1523 and 1550 is easily explained: the number of peers available for knighting rose but gently from 48 in 1523 to 53 in 1550. In both cases almost every available peer had been knighted. Five of the ten unknighted peers of 1523 were knighted later,<sup>2</sup> another, lord Burgh, had been declared insane,

---

<sup>1</sup> A.F. Pollard, Evolution of Parliament, 66, n.1.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton, Grey of Wilton, Roos, Derby, Vaux. (All except Roos were minors in 1523).

and a seventh, the young earl of Oxford, was considered by the king somewhat wild and immature and was to die in 1525. Of the nine unknighthed peers of 1550, four were minors,<sup>1</sup> and two of the remaining five were knighted later.<sup>2</sup> There was, then, little opportunity for a steep rise in the knighted peerage between these two dates.

The discovery that the peerage barely increased in numbers between 1523 and 1550 suggests that the views of Professors Stone and MacCaffrey need modifying. Professor Stone, referring to the granting of titles of nobility asserts that 'parsimony was of course no more than a Tudor practice, broken only during the revolutionary decades of the 1530's and 1540's',<sup>3</sup> while Professor MacCaffrey suggests that 'Henry VIII in the last few years of his reign suddenly raised up a nursery of new noble houses, and the circumstances of Edward's reign had enabled this group to proliferate.'<sup>4</sup> But the figures show that the peerage increased in numbers only by five during Stone's 'revolutionary decades', and they had hardly 'proliferated' to any great extent by 1550. The problem is one of technique. Stone and MacCaffrey counted creations, but viewed from the effect of the creations upon the size of the body as a whole the decades of the 1530's and 1540's are remarkably restrained: the creations barely kept pace with lines which failed from natural or political causes. Much more revolutionary, as it turns out, is the period between 1550 and 1577 during which

---

<sup>1</sup> Southampton, Zouche, Eure, Ogle.

<sup>2</sup> Abergavenny, Berkeley.

<sup>3</sup> Crisis, 98.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabethan Government and Society, ed. S.T. Bindoff et. al. 103.

time the peerage increased from 53 to 65.

It is all the more interesting, therefore, that although the number of peers had risen to 65 by 1577, of whom five were minors,<sup>1</sup> the number of knighted peers fell to 40 and was to fall by a further seven in 1600. It seems, at first glance, a clear case of Elizabethan parsimony and to substantiate the views of Stone and MacCaffrey that Elizabeth granted honours of all kinds sparingly as a matter of principle and policy;<sup>2</sup> in the first half of the century a peer seems to have been knighted almost as a matter of course, thereafter a substantial minority never received the accolade. An analysis of the Elizabethan knighted peers seems to confirm this view. Twenty-five of the 65 peers alive in December 1577 had been dubbed by the queen's predecessors and of the remaining 40 only 15 had received a knighthood. Two of these men (both heirs apparent at the time) were dubbed on the field of battle beyond the queen's control<sup>3</sup> and only two of the remaining 13 were knighted as peers. One was John, baron Darcy of Chiche, who was knighted at Elizabeth's coronation some six months after he had succeeded his father and the other Charles, baron Howard of Effingham, who was made first knight and then knight of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Bath, Cumberland, Essex, Sheffield, Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> To quote Professor MacCaffrey, 'Like a modern gem monopolist she maintained the value of the commodity by enforced scarcity, and without cost to herself increased the assets at her disposal.' *loc. cit.* 103. The quotation refers especially to the creation of new peers but it sums up his views on Elizabeth and knighthood expressed in the same paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> Kent and Grey of Wilton.

Garter in 1575.<sup>1</sup> A further two were knighted as sons and heirs apparent<sup>2</sup> and the remaining 9 were all knighted as commoners. Two of these, it is true, were created barons later the same day,<sup>3</sup> but the rest had to wait months or years before their elevation to the peerage.<sup>4</sup>

The knighted peers of 1600 were similar in composition. Eight had been knighted as commoners and need not detain us further,<sup>5</sup> but 17 had been knighted as peers and 8 as heirs apparent of peers. Of these 25, five had been dubbed before the accession of Elizabeth<sup>6</sup> and 11 on the field.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the queen was responsible for the knighting of only 9 of this group and in almost every case the knighthood proves to be of an exceptional nature. The second lord Darcy of Darcy was made a knight of the Bath at the coronation of 1559 while the earls of Nottingham and Worcester were knighted immediately before becoming knights of the Garter, an order whose institutions demanded that its members be knights already.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Cotton MS. Claudius C iii, f. 214; Add. MS. 5482, f. 15. He is stated by G.E.C. and D.N.B. to have been a knight by 1571 but this seems unlikely in view of the MSS. cited and in view of the Crown Office list of 1572 which styles him Esq.: Parl. Rets.

<sup>2</sup> Mordaunt, Darcy of Darcy.

<sup>3</sup> Buckhurst, De la Warre.

<sup>4</sup> Cheyne, Compton, Hunsdon, Leicester, Norris, North, Rich.

<sup>5</sup> Buckhurst, Burghley, Howard of Walden, and Norris before they were created. Chandos, Huntingdon, Kent and Mountjoy before they succeeded their brothers. The last two and Howard of Walden were war knights.

<sup>6</sup> Berkeley and Lumley as peers; Pembroke, Hertford and Lincoln as heirs.

<sup>7</sup> Audley, Cromwell, Essex, Grey, Rutland, Sheffield, Southampton, Sussex (probably also Cumberland: Shaw, ii. 87; Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, 201), all as peers. Hunsdon and De la Warre as heirs.

<sup>8</sup> Nottingham was then lord Howard of Effingham and was dubbed before his election: Cotton MS. Claudius C iii, f.214; Add. MS. 5482, f.15. Worcester was dubbed before his investiture: Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, 203.

Lord Cobham's knighthood at Nonesuch in July 1598 may have been preparatory to his election to the order the following year, although the absence of the scrutiny for 1597 makes this no more than a probability.<sup>1</sup> The earls of Shrewsbury and Northumberland may also have been knighted before their elections, investitures or installations.<sup>2</sup> The unknighted earl of Northumberland would surely have been knighted with the earl of Worcester before their investiture had he been present,<sup>3</sup> and may have been dubbed before his installation but the record is silent in this case and it may be that Shrewsbury's and Northumberland's first and only knighthood was that of the Garter.<sup>4</sup> The Garter figures also in the knighting of two more of this group: lord Willoughby was knighted in 1582 so that he might stand proxy for the king of Denmark and Thomas, heir of lord Scrope of Bolton was dubbed in order to act as proxy for his father in 1585.<sup>5</sup> The reason for the civil knighthood of Lewis, heir of lord Mordaunt, in 1568 remains obscure, but if his was simply a civil knighthood it was clearly an exception which proves the rule. On one occasion at least an heir apparent seems to have been deliberately passed over: when Elizabeth visited Viscount Montague at Cowdray in 1591, she made six knights including his second son George and his son-in-law Robert Dormer but not his son and heir Anthony.<sup>6</sup> It seems, therefore, that the

---

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 6298, f. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, ii. 95; Add. MS. 6298, f. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, 203-4.

<sup>4</sup> See also below, pp. 177-8.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Philip Sydney was knighted with Willoughby to act as proxy for Duke John Casimir: Cotton MS. Claudius C iii, f. 227b. On Scrope, Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, 198; Shaw, i. 28; ii. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Shaw, ii. 88.

ordinary knighting of a peer, or even his heir, was almost unthinkable. The knighting of new creations seems to have been regarded somewhat differently. In these cases, a preliminary knighthood, if only by a matter of hours or minutes, may have served to add respectability to new titles, in the same way that Sir Robert Dudley was created baron Denbigh the day before he was made earl of Leicester.

Thus, the decline in the number of knighted peers, which would have been greater had it not been for the wars of the latter part of the century, is not to be ascribed to parsimony nor even to a careful attempt to enhance the honour but rather to the queen's conception of knighthood and nobility. The knight bachelor was inferior to <sup>the</sup> baron - and even to his younger son.<sup>1</sup> To make a peer or his heir a knight bachelor was therefore scarcely an honour in itself. A superior honour was needed, but the only one open to the queen after her coronation was the order of the Garter, which was limited in numbers by its nature and sometimes limited still further by the queen's. She certainly did not manifest undue haste: on a number of occasions she declined to nominate to vacant stalls, although the members of the order had made the recommendations.<sup>2</sup> Her hesitancy, which meant that there were 10 vacant stalls in 1592 and 7 in 1602, is all the more intriguing because on at least one occasion, the companions were ordered to proceed to a scrutiny (their part in the election) and were even told those whom the queen

---

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1107, f.80b; Add. MS. 12453, f.83; Harl. MS. 69, f.52b.

<sup>2</sup> At least in 1571, 1585-7 and 1596-9, Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, passim.

desired to see in the order. Yet having performed their tasks, they were informed by the lord chancellor that the queen would make no decision that year.<sup>1</sup> When she eventually chose, however, it was normally a nobleman. Twelve Elizabethan knights of the Garter were foreigners, rulers and dignitaries who were honoured as part of Elizabethan diplomacy, and five (one of them later ennobled), were commoners, men like Sir Christopher Hatton, who had served the queen faithfully over the years and who might have been ennobled under a different monarch, but the remaining 36 were all peers.<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth was also partly limited in her choice of peers for this honour by the statutes of the order which made it clear that only those who were already knights bachelor should be elected.<sup>3</sup> The rule was well enough regarded for Henry VIII to declare the election of lord Roos null and void and to order a fresh election after he had been dubbed.<sup>4</sup> The preliminary knightings of the earl of Worcester and lord Howard of Effingham in this connexion have already been noticed and to these names should be added those of the earl of Rutland (dubbed some time after his nomination in April 1584 and before his installation in April 1585), and the earl of Derby and lord Burghley who were dubbed after the ceremonies in 1601.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that other peers for whom the Garter seems to be

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, 203, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, i. 26-29.

<sup>3</sup> Statutes of the Order of the Garter (1906), 23; E. Ashmole, Garter, 239 (the first of 2 pp. 239), 238 (the second of 2 pp. 238); Nicolas, Knighthood, i. Garter, 366.

<sup>4</sup> Anstis, Garter, i. 369.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 82; G.E.C.; Ashmole, Garter, 239.



the only knighthood were similarly treated without the fact having been recorded, but Ashmole notes that 'sometimes this Branch of the Statute was ... wholly passed.'<sup>1</sup> It was not a common occurrence, however: only four of the English knights of the Garter of 1600 appear to have had no previous knighthood, the majority having been dubbed some time before their election.<sup>2</sup> In general, therefore, Elizabeth used the Garter as it had been intended - as a second, superior knighthood - and relied upon the traditional occasions for the first knightings of her peers and their heirs.

Elizabeth's views were not new, however. Throughout the sixteenth century the knighting of peers had been largely a matter of occasion. Seventeen of the knighted peers of 1550 were knighted after they had received their titles but all had been made knights of the Bath, knights of the Garter or war knights.<sup>3</sup> And all those who were knighted as sons and heirs of peers received their knighthoods on similar occasions. Only six of the peers of 1550 had been dubbed knights bachelor on civil occasions and in each case they had not been elevated to the peerage at the time of knighting.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, none of the peers of 1523 had been

---

<sup>1</sup> Garter, 239 (the second of 2 pp. 239).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> 8 were war knights: Audley, Bray, Conyers, Grey of Wilton, Grey of Powis, Latimer, Clinton, Rutland.  
 7 were K.B's: Cromwell, Derby, Dorset, Monteagle, Oxford, Suffolk, Vaux.  
 2 were K.G's: Shrewsbury, Ferrers.

<sup>4</sup> Wiltshire, Northampton, Paget, Wharton, Rich, Willoughby of Parham. The occasions of the knighting of the first four have not been established but are presumed civil.

knighted in a mere civil ceremony. Fourteen had been knighted as peers, and their knighthoods were divided fairly evenly between knighthoods of the Bath and war knighthoods.<sup>1</sup> Only one of the remaining twenty-four knighted peers was knighted in any other way, and he was Charles Brandon, who was dubbed at the breaking up of Parliament in 1512<sup>2</sup> but he did not become a peer until the following year.<sup>3</sup>

Elizabeth's attitude towards the knighting of her peers and their heirs was neither parsimonious nor calculating but essentially the product of a mind which worked conservatively, following tradition. The decline in the knighted peerage, and the somewhat larger numbers of Elizabethan peers who were never knighted, is to be explained by the lack of suitable occasions on which to dub them. The author of A Catalogue of Honour or Treasure of True Nobility, writing in 1610, might contend that knighthood was a 'dignity of itself so sound, apparent and full of honour that it besseemeth most great Dukes and Earls'<sup>4</sup> but for the sixteenth century he was only half right: the dignity was only full of honour if it was bestowed on the right occasion. E.P. Cheyney's assertion that the young noblemen knighted by Essex in the Azores would soon have been knighted

<sup>1</sup> 7 were K.B.'s: Fitz Warren, Berners, Essex, Dacres of Gilsland, Daubeney, Dacres of the South, Shrewsbury.  
 2 were K.G.'s: Courtenay, Ferrers.  
 6 were war knights: Cobham, Grey of Powis, Lumley, Neville, Audley.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, ii. 35.

<sup>3</sup> 11 of this group were made in war, 12 were made knights of the bath. On the knighting of Thomas West, lord de la Warre, Shaw, i. 137 (K.B. 1478) is preferred to G.E.C. which gives '1476/7 by the king' without a reference.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England, vi. 215.

'in the ordinary course of events' is far from the truth.<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Smith's dictum that 'knights be not born but made'<sup>2</sup> was no idle boast: the possession of a title was no guarantee of a knighthood at any time in the century and at certain times it appears to have been a distinct handicap.

Tudor concern to find the right occasion to knight the peerage suggests that an hierarchy of knighthoods may have existed. To be made knight of the Garter was manifestly the highest honour,<sup>3</sup> reserved for the crown's most illustrious servants and its greatest noblemen. As we have seen, nearly all those elected to the order were noblemen or foreign potentates; in fact, only 5 peers above the rank of baron did not belong to the order in 1600: one, the 6th earl of Derby was to be installed in 1601, and the other four were a mediocre group, three of them (the Marquis of Winchester, and the earls of Bath and Bedford) not even finding a place in the Dictionary of National Biography, while the last (the earl of Oxford) pursued an erratic career as a courtier, as often out of favour as in. But outside the special order, all was not knightly equality: bannerets are known to have ranked above bachelor knights, and there are indications that knights of the Bath were also regarded as somewhat superior,<sup>4</sup> a notion supported by the preference which Tudor monarchs gave

---

<sup>1</sup> A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth, ii. 438.

<sup>2</sup> De Republica Anglorum, 21.

<sup>3</sup> The making of a new statute on precedence in 1571 suggests, however, that some men needed to be reminded of this fact from time to time: Statutes of the Order of the Garter, 48.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 219-21.

it over ordinary civil knighting in the dubbing of peers. But this study suggests that to these categories might be added yet another, the war knight. Since the only evidence for this suggestion is the knighting of peers, it would be wrong to insist upon it, but to the extent that it is true (or for as long as it was true), knighthood was retaining something of its original flavour. But any primacy that war knighting possessed had clearly died by the time Elizabeth wrote to her generals in a manner that suggests that war knightings were an inconvenient interruption in the now well-established custom of knighting men as civilians, and for social rather than military purposes.

This somewhat ill-balanced view of knighthood which circumstances first forced upon Elizabeth and which she later embraced suggests the reason why the queen did not try to find new ways to knight her peers when the traditional founts of honour ran dry. A nobleman might be rewarded for valour, or be given an award which suggested that he had been valorous, but hardly one which indicated that he had reached the social level of the knighted upper gentry, however exclusive Elizabeth sought to make that group. By this time, ordinary knighthood was no longer a reward for a peer. Possibly, however, reward had never been the major consideration. Doubtless, knighthood of the Bath brought some honour to those peers who received it and there is evidence that those nearest the Crown were most likely to be chosen, but one is struck by the small number of peers upon whom the Tudors chose to bestow it on any given occasion.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, after all, it is better to regard the knighting

---

<sup>1</sup> An average of 3 peers and 2 heirs per occasion.

of the peerage at coronations simply as the customary way of celebrating royal occasions. Knighthood enabled the peerage to play a greater part in the coronation ceremony than would otherwise have been the case, brought great honour to the king (who bestowed it), and to the ceremony (which honoured him), and equally important, to the order itself. An order which contained noblemen would be more respected than one which did not. The peerage was not so much honoured by knighthood as knighthood by the peerage.

Frequent wars and ceremonial occasions were thus an important condition for the survival of a well-knighted peerage, just as they helped to determine the size of the non-noble knightage. One occasion which might be considered ceremonial has so far received little attention. Not infrequently, the Tudors made a session of parliament the occasion for knighting a number of gentlemen. Two men were knighted at the breaking up of parliament in 1511, and a great many were 'made by the King at York Place, now called Whitehall, in the Parliament time 1529' and two more were made when Henry's next parliament finished its work in July 1536. A further list records those made during the parliament of 1542 and yet another those for Henry's final parliament in 1545.<sup>1</sup>

Although Shaw's records note specifically only two more Tudor knight-hoods 'in the Parliament time': that of Anthony Browne in 1566 and that of Ambrose Nicholas in 1576,<sup>2</sup> a comparison of the dates of knighting

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 35, 47, 50, 53, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 72, 77.

ceremonies with those of parliamentary sessions suggests that the occasion was more frequently used than has hitherto been appreciated, for between 1547 and 1601 parliamentary sessions saw the knighthood of 33 gentlemen.<sup>1</sup> If to these be added those who may have been knighted in the parliament time but whose dates of knighthood are not certain,<sup>2</sup> it can be seen that the numbers involved are considerable.

Knighting at the parliament time was clearly an established practice even before the coming of the Tudors, for although it cannot be traced back before 1483 in Shaw,<sup>3</sup> there is evidence that it was common still earlier. Dr. Virgoe gives evidence of it in 1449,<sup>4</sup> while a statute of 4 Henry VI was enacted solely to meet the contingency of a gentleman having to begin legal action all over again because of the abatement of a writ due to legal misnomer should he be knighted during the life of the parliament.<sup>5</sup>

Why did monarchs of the 15th and 16th centuries seize upon the parliament time to make knights? Not, it seems, in order to make up a deficiency of knights among the knights of the shire, despite the act of

<sup>1</sup> See table H. By reign the figures are: Edward VI: 23 knights  
Elizabeth I: 10 knights.

Mary's coronation has been considered as the occasion of knighting for the numerous gentlemen who received the honour either two days before the opening of her first parliament or near the end of its short life, even though some of those knighted were members of the house.

<sup>2</sup> See table H.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> R. Virgoe, 'A List of the Members of Parliament of February, 1449', B.I.H.R. xxxiv (1961), 202.

<sup>5</sup> F.M. Nichols, 'On Feudal and Obligatory Knighthood', Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), 226. A similar act covered those knighted at the creation of the Prince of Wales in 1504: ibid. 227.

1440 in which a preference for knights was clearly stated, and the clause requiring unknighthed county members to be 'such notable esquires, gentlemen of birth ... as be able to be knights' which seems to imply that a government might think seriously about knighting such men if elected.<sup>1</sup> The largest number of knights known to have been returned by their counties came to London in 1529, comprising 70 per cent of all the county members, a figure never to be even nearly reached for the rest of the century, yet it was at the opening of this parliament that Henry VIII made most knights. This percentage declined drastically in the next 12 years, gently fluctuated around 50 per cent in the 1550's and plunged to the very low 30 per cent of 1572 before rallying again at the end of the century, yet at no point did the crown intervene to redress the balance.

Only four of the occasions in which the parliament time is actually noted refer to the early weeks of a session: those of 1529, 1542 and 1576.<sup>2</sup> Only one man was knighted in 1576 and he was in all probability

---

<sup>1</sup> Statutes of the Realm, ii. 340; over a century earlier, writs had indicated that the government was prepared to accept well-qualified unknighthed county members: J.S. Roskell, The Commons in the Parliament of 1422, 3; M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, 1307-99, 188. The ensuing figures in this paragraph are based upon table I.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, ii. 47-48, 53, 77. Shaw's record for 1545, 'Dubbed at the parliament, anno 37' (Shaw, ii. 58) may refer to the opening days of the session. One of the two knighted during the parliament was John Hinde, who was made justice of common pleas on 4 November 1545 and, Foss implies, was knighted at the same time: E. Foss, The Judges of England, v. 304. Additional evidence that a knighting ceremony took place at the opening of parliament is to be found in the styling of Anthony Rous, who was without a knighthood in September but was a knight when he received the offices of Treasurer of the Chamber and Treasurer of the Court of General Surveyors on 25 November: L.P.xx (2), 496 (43), 909 (32), 910 (60).

not a member.<sup>1</sup> In the two other cases Henry VIII may have been anxious to have still more knighted members, but neither of these parliaments was badly off for knights compared with some of the later ones, nor compared with that of 1539 where there appears to have been no such ceremony.

If ever there was need to increase the proportion of knighted members, it was in 1572, but either Elizabeth recognized no such need or she eschewed what might have looked to the more sensitive members of the second half of the 16th century like an attempt to buy support. It is true that from the opening of parliament on 28 March 1572 to the prorogation of the final session on 18 March 1581,<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth knighted no fewer than fifteen knights of the shire and ten burgesses and that by-elections provided a net gain of five knights so that the 1581 session had a more normal number of knights among its members, but it could hardly have been otherwise. It would have been unprecedented indeed if Elizabeth had knighted no one between 1572 and 1581 and difficult to miss knighting some m.p.'s among those whom she honoured. Who more likely to receive a knighthood on progress, for example, than the important well-connected gentry of the county?<sup>3</sup> And who was more likely to be a member of

---

<sup>1</sup> Sir Ambrose Nicholas was lord mayor of London and does not figure in any of the extant returns for the 1572 parliament of which the 1576 session was part.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament was not finally dissolved until 1583.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Shirley, member for Sussex, was knighted at Rye, during the queen's progress through the south-east in 1573, and William Winter, the m.p. for Clitheroe at Gillingham. In the following year Henry Knyvett (m.p. Wootton Bassett), John Danvers (m.p. Malmesbury) and James Mervin (m.p. Wiltshire) were knighted on the queen's progress through Wiltshire. Shaw, ii. 75-76.



parliament? It is fairer in this respect to treat the three sessions as separate parliaments.<sup>1</sup> No known m.p.'s were knighted within these dates.

If the Tudors were not concerned about the number of knights in parliament, they may have had other reasons for knightng members in the parliament time. The dubbing of members part way through a session, or at the end or even just after parliament had been dismissed<sup>2</sup> not only gives additional weight to the argument that their knighthoods had nothing to do with keeping the numbers fairly even but also points to another possible motive, that of reward for some service performed (or, in the case of those knighted early in the session, to be performed) during the session.

The knighthood of Sir Richard Southwell is probably a case in point. Unknighted at the time of election<sup>3</sup> and still in February 1540,<sup>4</sup> he is nevertheless recorded as a knight in a list of subsidy commissioners drawn up on 4 August 1540.<sup>5</sup> Since there were only 11 days between the dissolution of parliament and the issuing of the commission it seems reasonable to assume that Southwell was knighted in the parliament time. The Norfolk election of 1539 was, for some reason, of considerable interest to the crown and Cromwell appears to have made it clear that Southwell and Wyndham

<sup>1</sup> The three sessions were 8 May - 30 June, 8 February - 15 March 1576; 16 January - 18 March 1581.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of all types are to be found in table H.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. xiv (1), 800.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. xv. 282 g.6.

<sup>5</sup> E 159/319; *Brevia Retornabilia et Irretornabilia*, Michaelmas, rr. [1-2]  
Ex. inf. R.S. Schofield.

were its choices. When Sir Edmund Knyvett sought to stand against Southwell a minor affray took place after which both Southwell and Knyvett were bound over by the Duke of Norfolk to appear in Star Chamber. In his account of the affair, Southwell bids Cromwell to 'consider that my enterprise was commenced at the King's command.'<sup>1</sup> The crown seems to have been anxious to have the services of Southwell in this parliament and his knighthood suggests that he did whatever was expected of him.

By and large, however, we do not possess sufficient knowledge of members' parliamentary activities to support the argument that men were knighted at the parliament time for parliamentary services: knights figured on committees frequently but not invariably, but often the leading figures were appointed because of their connexion with the court or knowledge of the subject than because of their degree.<sup>2</sup> In any case, it would not explain why men who were not m.p.'s were dubbed in the parliament time. While the absence of a name from the incomplete returns is no proof that a man did not sit, there are a number of men who can be shown not to have been members at the time of their knighthood. John Guildford, knighted during the session of 1542,<sup>3</sup> did not become a member until January 1543, when he was elected to replace the deceased Sir Thomas

---

<sup>1</sup> L.P. xiv (1), 706, 800, 808.

<sup>2</sup> S. D'Ewes, The Journals of all the Parliaments of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, passim. On some occasions, D'Ewes is careless over degrees (e.g. 'Mr. Cooke' for Sir Anthony Cooke, p. 45). Knights do not always appear together at the head of his list (pp. 333, 337) and lawyers are often preferred (pp. 334-5). Even when knights were on committees, the bill was not necessarily committed to one of them (p. 335).

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 53.

Wyatt.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Rowland Hill, sheriff of London, was not a member of this parliament when he was knighted. He was, in fact, in trouble with its members, for it was he who had arrested Ferrers and so provoked an important constitutional episode.<sup>2</sup>

In the same list appears Reignold Scott, who, as sheriff of Kent, also ought not to have been a member of parliament and whose name does not appear among the extant returns. Nor do the names of Edmund Marvyn, William Denham, Richard Edgcombe, William Willoughby, Walter Herbert, William Vaughan, Edmund Peckham, George Cotton and John Candysshe, and while it might be argued that this is merely a question of the survival of evidence, the returns for 1542 being more defective than those for any other Tudor parliament for which a significant number of returns still exist, the evidence from other parliaments lends weight to the hypothesis that many of those knighted in the parliament time were not members of parliament. Of the 39 so listed for the parliament of 1529,<sup>3</sup> only ~~five~~<sup>seven</sup> can be identified by the returns as members. No conclusions can be drawn from the four men who were dubbed in the parliaments of 1536 and 1545<sup>4</sup> since the returns have not survived, but Anthony Browne and Ambrose Nicholas, the only other gentlemen specifically noted to have been knighted

---

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Rets. App. XXIX. Guildford's connexions with the court, especially as Chamberlain to Ann of Cleves, explain his knighthood in 1542.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, ii. 53; P.R.O. Sheriffs; G.R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution, 267-70, prints an account of the episode. On the dating of the case and the possible constitutional significance of Hill's knighthood, see my 'Ferrers' Case: A Note', B.I.H.R. xlii (1969), 230-4.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 47-48; see table H.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ii. 50, 58; see table H.

in the parliament time<sup>1</sup> were not members at the time.

Records of knightings during the reign of Edward VI do not mention parliament, but it is clear from the dates of their knighthoods that 22 gentlemen were knighted during the sessions of the parliament of 1547. Only 9 of them, however, were members.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in Elizabeth's reign, of the ~~nine~~<sup>eleven</sup> who can with certainty be said to have been knighted during a parliamentary session, only three were members of parliament.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that some of those who were knighted at the parliament time were m.p.'s may therefore be little more than coincidence. Certainly membership of the house of commons can have had little to do with the knighthood of Walter Raleigh while member for Devon in 1584<sup>4</sup> or with the dubbing of Thomas Cromwell at the end of the parliament of 1536 of which he must have been a member.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Robert Southwell, although knight of the shire for Surrey in the parliament at which he was dubbed, was also Master of the Rolls<sup>6</sup> and Thomas Moyle who represented Kent in

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 72, 77.

<sup>2</sup> See table H. A further four m.p.'s may have been knighted while parliament was in session as well as three non-m.p.'s, the dating of their knighthoods being the reason for the uncertainty. Of a much larger number (31) which Shaw lists even more vaguely as '/? after/ 1549' (ii. 64-65) none is known to have been an m.p.

<sup>3</sup> See table H.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, ii. 83; Parl. Rets. i. 413.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 50.

<sup>6</sup> Shaw, ii. 53 has Richard Southwell dubbed in the parliament of 1542 and Robert in the late 1530's (ii. 51). He is mistaken, however. Richard was knighted by Nov. 1540 (L.P. xvi. 305 g.8) and Robert at the parliament of 1542: College of Arms MS. Old Partition Book Miscellaneous, f.33b; Wriothesley's Chronicle, ed. W.D. Hamilton, i (Camden Soc. N.S. xi), 133.

the same parliament, was chosen as its speaker. It is reasonable to suppose that it was their offices, and the personal influence which they bespeak, which earned them knighthoods at this parliament, as was the case with Edmund Peckham, cofferer of the Household, and Richard Pollard, the King's Remembrancer, who appear not to have sat.<sup>1</sup>

One more example must suffice. Among those knighted while parliament was in session on November 10, 1549,<sup>2</sup> were three west country protestants, Arthur Champernoun, John Pollard and Giles Strangeways. Only Champernoun, representing Barnstable, is known to have sat in this parliament, which itself suggests that it was not parliamentary services which were uppermost in the mind of the government when these men were chosen for the honour. Certainly the knighthood did not oblige Champernoun to any new course of action, since all three men were loyal supporters of the Russell family both before and after their knighthoods.<sup>3</sup> If anything was rewarded, then, it was their Russell connexion. Champernoun would probably have been knighted with his two friends even if he had not been a member of parliament. In short, members of parliament appear to have been knighted at the parliament time because they were, rather than because it was hoped to make them, loyal supporters of the administration, and the services recognised were not necessarily, if ever, parliamentary.

---

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Anthony Rous, who may have been dubbed during the parliament of 1545, was treasurer of the King's Jewels when parliament met: L.P. xix (1), 610 g.3; see also above, p. 184, n.2.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw, ii. 64.

<sup>3</sup> History of Parliament trust, biography of Sir John Pollard (1528-75).

In view of this evidence, it is not surprising to discover that 'in the parliament time' does not necessarily mean 'in the parliament chamber.' The 1529 ceremony took place in Whitehall as did the knighting of Ambrose Nicholas 'in the parliament time' of 1576.<sup>1</sup> In 1542 at least three different ceremonies and venues were involved, one of them while parliament stood prorogued.<sup>2</sup> Shaw gives the misleading impression that a group of eighteen men were dubbed at the same time during the 1542 session, an impression he may have derived from his sources, mostly copies of heraldic manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> A source not used by Shaw demonstrates how this confusion may have arisen. In the partition books, where the heralds recorded their division of the fees they had collected for their part in the knighting ceremonies, the heading 'Partition at the Parliament' is given to a list of nine men contained either in Shaw or Wriothsesley for 1542.<sup>4</sup> Such a title might easily have become confused with 'knights made in or at parliament.' It is a unique entry, the heralds normally having chosen feast days reasonably spaced throughout the year for the partition of knights' fees, and it might appear, on a first reading, as if the heralds collected the fees of those knighted in parliament immediately after the ceremony and distributed the spoils forthwith. If Wriothsesley is to be

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 47, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Wriothsesley, op. cit. 133, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, ii. 53; i. pp. viii-ix.

<sup>4</sup> College of Arms MS. Partition Tpe. H.8.Usq.An.R.Eliz. f. 86b. Dated 'anno 32', obviously a slip of the heraldic pen. Cf. College of Arms MS. Old Partition Book Miscellaneous, f. 33b, which dates it correctly, 33 H8.

believed, however, the story is more complex, for Southwell and Pollard were knighted in the parliament chamber on 16 January while at least two of the others, Dormer and Denham, were not knighted until 2 February at Westminster Palace. It seems likely that having performed their duties at the ceremony of February 2, the heralds used the occasion to share the fees they had recently collected, two of them at least, on that very day, 'at the parliament' being used as a synonym for the palace of Westminster. Alternatively, the heralds may have assembled at Westminster some time after February 2, perhaps to complete the collection of fees from the more reluctant or impecunious. In either case, 'at the parliament' has importance only as the heralds' meeting place.

What, then, is the significance of this practice of making knights during the parliament time? It was not an instrument for increasing the knightly composition of the house, nor was it reserved solely for members of parliament, nor even for the parliament house. On rare occasions under Henry VIII, it seems that the assembled representatives of the kingdom were treated to a display calculated to remind them that the king, the source of all bounties, honoured loyal and faithful servants, as in the cases of Pollard and Southwell in 1542.<sup>1</sup> But more often than not, men were knighted in the parliament time because they were available to be knighted. This applies especially to the member of parliament who was serving the crown faithfully mainly in local administration and who had all the necessary qualifications of birth, wealth and

---

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also Cromwell 1536, and the two judges in 1545. We have no record, however, of where these men were actually dubbed.

influence. The fact that the early Tudors appear to have made more use of this occasion than Elizabeth did is probably explained in terms of the greater number of progresses she made. It is significant that the majority of Elizabethan members of parliament knighted either during or just after a parliamentary session came from the west country, an area she never visited.

Three west country gentlemen, at least two of them present at the session of 1576, were knighted ten days after parliament was prorogued on March 15.<sup>1</sup> Another, Henry Berkley, who represented Somerset, received the honour towards the end of the parliament of 1584<sup>2</sup> and a further two were dubbed during the parliament of 1598.<sup>3</sup> William Strowde was the member for Devon while Jonathan Trelawny was, if not an unrecorded member, at least an interested party. Living at Poole, Cornwall, he seems to have had considerable parliamentary patronage in the county, some, if not all, of which he placed in the hands of his distant relative, Cecil, who was trying to build up parliamentary support against the Essex faction.<sup>4</sup> A knighthood was Trelawny's reward, or, more probably, in view of the increasing desire for the honour and Cecil's extremity, his price. The business which brought George Carey from his beautiful Devon home at

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 77; see table H.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 83; see table H.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Neale, Parliaments, ii. 242-3.



Cockington to be knighted later the same month was probably not parliamentary,<sup>1</sup> but his knighthood again indicates that men of the west country had to travel to London for their spurs. For some of them, the parliament time was a convenient season.<sup>2</sup>

If there was a notion of knightly duty connected with membership of parliament, knighting at the parliament time does not illuminate it and monarchs appear to have been silent upon the matter. It remains to be seen whether such a notion was current either among the knights or among those responsible for electing and returning members of parliament. Since there were never fewer than 200 knights in the country and yet they often found it impossible to occupy even half the county seats, this notion cannot have been strong and was probably non-existent. The fluctuation in the proportion of knighted county members throughout the century requires an explanation, however, and one worked out solely in terms of the number of knights available leaves much to be desired.

The period 1477 to 1529 saw a gradual growth in the number of knighted members of parliament<sup>3</sup> which reflects the growing number of knights during

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 95. He was well connected, being appointed treasurer at war in Ireland, 1598 and lord justice of Ireland, 1603: J.J. Alexander, 'Devon County Members of Parliament, Part IV: The Tudor Period (1485-1603)', Trans. of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, xlvii (1915), 369.

<sup>2</sup> The same could be said of the Lancashire gentry: e.g. John Radcliffe and Edmund Trafford were both knighted in London in 1578. They were knights of the shire for Lancashire and may have been in London awaiting the recall of parliament. It was a crisis year and prorogations were frequent and short: Shaw, ii. 78; Neale, Parliaments, ii. 369.

<sup>3</sup> See table I. Subsequent figures in this and the next few paragraphs are based upon it and upon table J.

this period, while the return in the 1570's to a number of knights similar to that of the 1470's saw a return to a comparable percentage of knighted county members. Again, the gradual rise in the number of knights towards the end of the century is reflected in the growing proportion of knights in the house. These movements are, however, imprecise reflections of each other. For example, the number of knighted county members in the 1601 parliament represents an increase of 59 per cent on the figure for the parliament of 1572, but the total number of knights rose only 26 per cent during roughly the same period. Similarly, while the number of knights in the country rose by 34 per cent between 1500 and 1523, the number of knighted county members rose by only 3.8 per cent between 1495 and 1529. Nevertheless, even if the numbers do not move at the same rate, they are moving in the same direction. This is not true of the period 1529-1550. In 1550 there were 539 knights alive, an increase of 67 per cent on the figure for 1523, yet there were 18 per cent fewer knights sitting for the counties than there had been in 1529. At no point in the century, therefore, is the number of living knights an accurate guide to the number of knights representing the shires, and during the period 1529-1550 there appears to be no correlation at all.

The period 1529-1550 seems to have been the crucial one in the history of the knighted county member. Until 1529, knights sat but rarely and exceptionally for a borough and the number of knighted shire representatives increased with the number of knights available. Thereafter, although the English knightage continued to grow, the number of knighted county members declined and it was not until the end of the century, having suffered the

double setback of losing ground in the county elections and then a deflation in numbers, that the knights of England began to return to parliament in the same kind of strength as they had done in 1529. By 1601, however, far more of them had to content themselves with the inferior position of a burgess.

An examination of trends in borough representation is instructive. Until the turn of the century, the number of knights sitting as burgesses was never as high as the number representing the counties but these apparently insignificant handfuls generally reflect the swelling of the order of knighthood from the late 40's to the early 60's, its decline in numbers in the 70's and the gradual rise of the 80's and 90's.<sup>1</sup> When these knighted burgesses are added to their shire counterparts, the 18 per cent decrease over the period of 1529-1550 becomes an increase of 3 per cent while the drop of some 31 per cent in the county figures for the period 1529-1601 is reduced to 18 per cent. Thus although the pattern of representation had changed between 1529 and 1601 the total number of knights sitting in parliament had altered little, a discovery made doubly interesting by the fact that the number of knights available was roughly the same in each case.

The steady decline from 1529 to the 1590's in the proportion of knighted county members and the fluctuating proportions of knighted burgesses returned to parliament are better explained together than separately and probably reflect the growing prestige of parliament during

---

<sup>1</sup> The outstanding exceptions for which no explanation has been found are the two parliaments of 1554 and that of 1558.

the period and a more widespread desire to be a member. Until 1529, knights sat mainly for the shire and they may have considered it beneath their dignity to represent boroughs, more of which in any case were in the habit of electing local men at this stage. By the middle years of the century there was probably more competition for county seats and some knights were either unequal to it or preferred to sit for the boroughs which, because of the gradual growth in the importance of parliament, were considered rather less inferior than hitherto. Many of the large number of knights alive at the time had been made on the field of battle and were less wealthy and influential than might be expected.<sup>1</sup> Thus the pressure of the increased number of available knights upon a static number of seats is more apparent than real and where it existed, was diverted, partly, into the boroughs. New notions of the place of the knight in parliament were emerging.

Increased competition and, temporarily, a different type of knight, explain not only why the proportion of knighted members bears no relationship to the number of knights available during the period 1529-1550 but also why a new pattern emerges thereafter. By the 1560's, the number of living knights was declining yearly and quite dramatically and since competition for county seats was not, the knighted portion of the county members declined at an even greater rate. The boroughs, because they tended to be the refuge of knights failing to gain county election in the face of fierce competition, suffered an even greater dearth as the decline

---

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp.135-6.

in the knightage, and the consequent decline in knightly demand for seats, progressed. In the 1570's, knights who sat at all sat mainly for the counties and this is as one would expect. The reduction in the size of the order of knighthood under Elizabeth tended to be at the expense of the less powerful and less vigorous families. Those who received the accolade were much more of an elite and commanded, even before their awards, considerable authority and influence.<sup>1</sup>

As the number of knights rose towards the close of the century, so gradually did the number of knights sitting for the shires, although it never reached the 1529 figure even when the numbers of knights available were roughly equal. The rising number of knights in the 1580's and 1590's found a much fuller reflection in the increasing numbers who sat for the boroughs. The prestige of parliament was by now so great and the competition so fierce that any stigma which had been attached to sitting for a borough as a knight had either been swept away or ignored for a greater prize.

Such an explanation is at best tentative and hypothetical and takes no note of regional variations. A survey of the knights of the shire for Lancashire, Norfolk and Sussex<sup>2</sup> shows that the contrast between knight and non-knight has been rather too sharply drawn, for almost invariably non-knights came from knightly families and were often later to be knighted themselves. The tendency to return unknighthed county members, whether it occurred after 1529 (as table I suggests), or later (as was the case in the three counties analysed in table 18), may well reflect

---

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp.136-7. The percentage of the knightage sitting in the parliament of 1572 remains low probably because a fair number of the less influential pre-Elizabethan knights remained alive.

<sup>2</sup> See table 18, p. 199.

Knights of the Shire in Norfolk, Lancs., and Sussex, 1529-1601

	29	36	39	41	45	47	53	53	54	54	55	58	59	62	71	72	84	86	88	92	97	01
Norfolk																						
Knight	2			1/1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Non knight of knightly family					1										2		2	1	1	1	1	1
Neither											1									1		
Lancs.																						
Knight	1			1		1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2		1			2	1	1	1
Non knight of knightly family							1								1	2	1	2	2		1	1
Neither	1			1	2	1									1							
Sussex																						
Knight	2	2	1/1	1/1	1	1/1	2		1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Non knight of knightly family					1		2		1	1		1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
Neither								1														1

Summary: Knights elected to county seats 1529-1558 Norfolk. 13/15 1559-1601 N. 9/20  
Lancs. 12/16 L. 9/20  
Sussex 13/19 S. 7/20

Sources: Swales, ii; Watson; Parl. Rets.

an attitude on the part of the knights or the electors or both, but this change of attitude was not all that dramatic. And increased competition for the county seats was, by and large, a reflection of the strivings of knightly families rather than those immediately below them.

Again, it is not clear how much one can generalize either about men's desires to stand for the county, or about electors' attitudes towards the degree of a candidate, when a county election depended so much on the goodwill of a powerful magnate - Norfolk in Norfolk, Derby in Lancashire and Arundel and Buckhurst in Sussex. When these noblemen influenced both the choice of candidates and the election of representatives, it may be that changes in attitude towards knighted or unknighthed members of parliament reflect no more than their preference for their own supporters, as was the case in Cromwell's interference in the Norfolk election of 1539.<sup>1</sup>

One thing is certain, however. If ever knights had been preferred as shire representatives, that time had passed by 1550.<sup>2</sup> By then, if not earlier, knights were members of parliament because of their political skill, ambition and influence rather than because either they, or those who elected them, held any notions of a knight's special place in parliament.

An analysis of the parliamentary experience of Tudor knights confirms this conclusion: habits, fashions or notions changed not only with regard to the constituencies for which knights sat but also, apparently, in the desire to sit, as the following table shows:

---

<sup>1</sup> L.P. xiv (1) 672, 706, 800, 808.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that 1550 also marks a change in the drawing up of Crown Office lists of members, which until 1532 had been arranged with all knights of the shire first and then burgesses. Thereafter knights of the shire were grouped with burgesses county by county: *ex inf.* History of Parliament Trust, Early Tudor section.

Table 19

Table to compare the parliamentary experience of the  
knights of 1550 with that of the knights of 1577.

	1550	1577
Number of knights alive	539	247
Number of knights who had parliamentary experience	258	138
% of knights sitting in parliament	47%	56%
Number of knights sitting once or twice	165	74
Expressed as % of total knights	31%	26.5%
Expressed as % of knights with parliamentary experience	64%	53.5%
Number of knights sitting thrice or more	92	64
Expressed as % of total number of knights	17.1%	23%
Expressed as % of knights with parliamentary experience	36.5%	46.5%

Although a large proportion of knights throughout the period had no parliamentary experience the proportion of knights who sat at least once in parliament increased in the second half of the century. Of the knights alive in 1550, 47% had been or were to be elected at least once, while in 1577 this proportion had risen to 56%. What is more, they sat more frequently. 36.5% of the 1550 group who entered parliament at all sat three times or more: for the 1577 group the figure is 46.5%. And this



increase is genuinely Elizabethan, a large majority of this latter group having had no parliamentary experience before Elizabeth's accession. Thus one is faced with the interesting phenomenon of a decreasing number of knights but an increasing parliamentary activity on the part of the few.

It is unfortunate that the absence of most of the Tudor returns before 1529 makes a comparison with the earlier period impossible and the fact that all the returns of 1536 and 1545 as well as the borough returns of 1539 are missing means that the figures for 1550 are not as accurate as one would desire. However, the amount of distortion is not as great as it appears. The parliamentary experience of the knights of 1550 and 1577 is based on their whole careers, not just that part before the date selected and the knights of 1550 had seven parliaments in which to sit during the next ten years as opposed to the three open to the men of 1577. For the purposes of comparison, this helps to make good any deficiency created by the missing returns of 1536 and 1545 as does the fact that in the 21 years before 1550 there were four parliaments for which figures survive in some form and in the comparable period before 1577 only one more.

If the figures can be trusted, what do they signify? The fact that a slightly larger proportion of knights appear to be taking a career in parliament a little more seriously can hardly be said to show a tendency towards a resurgence of notions of knightly duty while there is no contemporary literary evidence to support it and while 44 per cent of the knights of 1577 eschewed a parliamentary career, even of the shortest kind, altogether. The increase in the proportion of knights sitting three

times or more reflects the tendency of members' careers in general<sup>1</sup> and it is in the light of this growing professionalism of the house that the figures for knights are best considered. In 1571, with only one parliament in the previous ten years, 163 m.p.'s or 48 per cent of the house, had had previous parliamentary experience, many of them a considerable amount, while in 1593, which Sir John Neale considers 'the normal type' of parliament, 52 per cent of the members had already sat. Even more revealing are Neale's figures for the complete parliamentary experience of the members of 1584: 46 per cent of the members sat once or twice, 54 per cent sat three or more times, proportions not dissimilar to those for the parliamentary experience of the parliamentary knights of 1577.

It would be wrong to press this point, however. Increased activity on the part of the smaller group is not surprising when it is borne in mind that the reduction in the size of the knightage tended to restrict membership of the order to a social and political élite, only the more vigorous, wealthy and influential members surviving. It is significant that while the proportion of the knights of 1577 who sat three times or more is greater than the proportion of the knights of 1550 so doing, the actual numbers involved are roughly equal. The increase in the proportion of knights with considerable parliamentary experience is caused largely by the fact that fewer knights sat once or twice, largely because there were fewer of this type of man being knighted in Elizabethan times.

---

<sup>1</sup> The figures in this paragraph are taken from Neale, Commons, 309.



and fortunes, personal tastes and ambitions, a fluctuating number of knights, increasing competition to sit in parliament - played its part in determining how many knights sat for parliament. Whether or not a man was styled 'knight' appears to have been a question which bothered neither the candidate nor his electors nor his monarch.

## Chapter VI

### The Royal Act

Of all the knighting ceremonies, those connected with the knighthood of the Bath were the most colourful and splendid. This method of knighting was reserved for state ceremonial occasions such as the coronation of the monarch or his queen, and the marriage of, or the conferring of a new title upon, his heirs. Henry VII understood the value to the monarchy of spectacles of this kind and used them more often, and perhaps more lavishly, than any of his predecessors.<sup>1</sup> His successors followed his example until the unmarried Elizabeth found herself unable to use the ceremony after 1558 because she lacked suitable occasions, and interest in the ceremony and the title revived only with the accession of James I.<sup>2</sup>

The ceremony lasted nearly a whole day, beginning late in the afternoon and ending late the following morning. Held either at the Tower or Whitehall Palace, it opened with a meal at which the esquires who were to be made knights served a dish 'in token that they shall

---

<sup>1</sup> Anstis, Essay, 56; A. Wagner, Heralds of England, 145.

<sup>2</sup> The revival of interest can be judged from the MS. material which survives from this period.

never bare none after that day.<sup>1</sup> They were then escorted by their esquires governors or gentlemen ushers (who had been appointed by the lord chamberlain),<sup>2</sup> to the place where the baths had been set out. An account of the ceremony held at the coronation of Henry VII holds that the baths were traditionally placed in the dungeons but the tradition appears to have died with this ceremony, for the Long Chamber was used in 1533 and the Great Tower in 1553.<sup>3</sup> When Henry VII used <sup>Westminster and</sup> Whitehall, the king's closet housed the young royal candidates while the others had their baths either in the parliament chamber or in the entry between that chamber and the chapel.<sup>4</sup> The esquire governor draped the bath inside and out with white linen cloth while his master's beard was shaved and head 'rownded', and then helped him to undress, put on a pair of linen breeches and enter the bath.<sup>5</sup>

Music heralded the approach of the monarch (or in the case of queens regnant, their commissioners), and a number of noblemen, knights and esquires. The king, aided by his greater courtiers, had two tasks to perform. One was the ceremonial bathing, which varied from foot-washing

---

<sup>1</sup> Anstis, App. 48: an account of Henry VIII's coronation. At Mary's coronation, however, the newly made knights served at the coronation banquet. Excellent pictures of the various stages in the ceremony were made for John Writhe, Garter King of Arms, 1478-1504, some of which have been reproduced by Sir Anthony Wagner, together with a brief commentary: op. cit. 138-46.

<sup>2</sup> Anstis, App. 39. The list of the knights of the Bath for 1553 has the names of the esquires appointed for each knight: Harl. MS. 6063, f. 21.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. vi. 563; Anstis, App. 36, 53.

<sup>4</sup> Anstis, App. 40, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Harl. MS. 41, f. 19; Anstis, App. 54, 99.

to pouring water over the esquire's shoulders;<sup>1</sup> the other was to give the charge, somewhat misleadingly called an oath in some accounts,<sup>2</sup> to each esquire:

Right Dear Brother Grett worship be this Ordre unto every of you, and Almighty God give you praying of all Knighthood, Thys is the ordre of Knighthood, You shall honour God above all things, You shall be stedfast in the Faith of Holly Church, and the same manteyne, and defende to your Power, You shall love your Sovereigne above all erthly Cretures, and for your Soveraignes right live and die, You shall defend Widowes, Maydens, and Orphans in their right, You shall suffer no extorcyn, as farr forth as you maie, nor sitt in place, where any wrongfull judgement shall be given to your knowledge, and as great Honour be this noble Order unto you, as ever it was to any of your Progenitors. <sup>3</sup>

The royal party left silently and the esquires retired to specially prepared beds where they remained for a time - until 4 a.m. at Mary's ceremony.<sup>4</sup> At the appointed time they were dressed in black russett robes resembling hermit's weeds, with a fur-lined hood like that of a bachelor of laws, and proceeded to the chapel where, after receiving their voidie<sup>5</sup> (a collation of wine and spices), they commenced their vigil. The vigil ended with confession and the mass.<sup>6</sup> When they had taken the sacrament, the esquires returned to beds now more splendidly

<sup>1</sup> Anstis, App. 54, 42, 100; Harl. MS. 41, f. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Anstis, App. 54; Harl. MS. 36, f. 50. In Scotland an oath was administered: Harl. MS. 39, ff. 88-88b.

<sup>3</sup> Anstis, App. 54. From time to time the charge varied in wording, but not in substance: cf. Harl. MS. 39, ff. 50-50b.

<sup>4</sup> Anstis, App. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 42, 101.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 54, 101.

arrayed in red say and cloth of baudkin<sup>1</sup> and slept 'unto yt be farre day' when they were awakened by their esquires governors in time to receive a deputation of knights, heralds and minstrels. These knights helped their new companions to dress in robes of red taffeta and black hose soled with leather. On the shoulder was threaded a white silk lace to which was tied a pair of white gloves. The party then moved to the courtyard where they mounted horses prepared by the earl marshal with saddles of black leather edged with white, the headstalls of the bridle and the patrell having gilt crosses on them. In front of each esquire rode his esquires governors, and by his side a page bearing his master's gilt-pommel sword in a scabbard of white velvet. From its hilt hung the gilt spurs which, with the sword, were to play a part in the concluding ceremonies.<sup>2</sup> On one occasion during the Tudor period this short ceremonial ride was omitted for the very English reason that 'the wedar was not clere, ne convenient bycause of moche wete.'<sup>3</sup> Dismounting, the party entered the hall where the ceremonies had begun with a meal the previous evening. Each candidate, accompanied by his page, esquires

---

<sup>1</sup> These were the materials used in Tudor times: Earl. MS. 41, ff. 16, 17, 17b, 24b; earlier they had been slightly different: Anstis, App. 102. Although this record printed by Anstis (and many unpublished MSS) specify that the bed shall first be somewhat plain and only lavishly arrayed in time for the levée, the beds at the ceremony of 1494 were sumptuous from the beginning. Prince Henry had 'a riche bed well emparelled' and all beds, comments the observer, had 'sparvors' (canopies) 'the best ordred that I have seen': ibid. 42. Possibly the custom of having a plain bed had lapsed by this time.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 54-55. The stirrup irons were probably gilt also: ibid. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 47.



governors, and two knights, now approached the presence chamber, from which the monarch issued under the Cloth of Estate. The candidates knelt on the carpet, the page or esquires governors delivering up the sword and spurs to the lord chamberlain who passed them to the monarch. The spurs were then passed one each to a knight or nobleman who put them on the esquire and kissed his knees and the monarch personally girded the esquire with the sword. This done, the climax of the ceremony was reached. With his bare hand the king struck the kneeling esquire on the back or the back of the neck with the words, 'Hear, be a trewe Knyghte.'<sup>1</sup> The newly-made knights were next led to the chapel where they delivered up their swords to the priest, and, as they left, their spurs to the master cook, who greeted them with the words, 'Sir Knight, see thou bee a true Knight and to performe thine Oath, or else I will strike the off by theis Sporres.'<sup>2</sup> A further change of clothing, this time into a blue or purple gown with straight sleeves,<sup>3</sup> again with the white silk lace on the shoulder, a further meal at which the new knights, seated together, were served instead of serving, and a speech of thanks by one of their number,<sup>4</sup> virtually completed the ceremonies. The jousting which invariably accompanied these ceremonial state occasions

---

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Mary and Elizabeth, this part of the ceremony, (though not the girding on of the sword) was performed by a commissioner: ibid. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 56; Wagner, op. cit. 143.

<sup>4</sup> The speech does not appear in the account for 1553, but occurs in accounts of the ceremonies of 1489 and 1494: Anstis, App. 41, 44. In the latter account, the knights did not don their blue robes until the meal was over.

gave the new knights a chance to prove themselves and to have the white lace removed from their shoulders,<sup>1</sup> while the coronation or marriage service, which usually came after the making of the knights of the Bath, gave them an opportunity to serve their monarch for the first time as knights and so prove their loyalty.

Space forbids a discussion of the symbolism of the ceremony in which each act and piece of apparel had significance in the idealistic world of chivalry. In any case, whether it had quite the same significance for those who took part in the ceremony may be doubted. Whatever its original meaning, the significance of the ceremony for the Tudors is not far to seek. Intent upon exalting the position and estimation of monarchy and well aware of the value of public spectacle as a method, Henry VII seized upon this splendid, solemn and brilliant ceremony in which the monarch played a significant role. The monarch first chose the knights, later gave them the charge, and finally appeared dramatically before a prepared, hushed and waiting company of his greater subjects to perform the climactic act.<sup>2</sup>

On only one occasion does there appear to have been serious error and that, perhaps predictably, was at the coronation of Edward VI. On this occasion the ceremony was omitted because, it was alleged, the time was too short.<sup>3</sup> If this were the cause, then the coronation and the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 105.

<sup>2</sup> For another use of this technique, see S. Anglo, The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, 1. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 51; Nichols, Lit. Rem. 1. p. ccxcix.

ensuing ceremonies had been poorly planned. On all previous Tudor occasions, the ceremonies for knights of the Bath had preceded the coronation by at least a day, whereas in 1547 it was planned to commence them at the banquet which followed it. Perhaps concern for the health of the young king explains the decision to eliminate the ceremonies, or possibly the very large numbers to be bathed were thought to preclude them - although there had been a larger number in 1501 when 58 knights of the Bath were made.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the cause, the ceremony did not take place, although they paid double the knight bachelor's fee as an indication of their greater honour.<sup>2</sup> The revised ceremony was tolerably short even for so large a body of men and so small a boy: 'Sir William Paget, secretary, did rede their names, and they were called by Garter, principall Kynge at Armes, to receive' the order.<sup>3</sup> The description does not make Garter's role altogether clear, but he may have given the charge which was customarily given to each knight of the Bath at the time of the bathing ceremony.

Two days later, and subsequently during the celebrations, Edward made a number of knights bachelor, or knights of the carpet, as they were often styled on such occasions. The ceremony was much simpler than the one just described and differed from it in a number of respects. Firstly, there was no ritual preparation for the dubbing; secondly, a

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, i. 145-7; Anstis, App. 46.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, Lit. Rem. i. p. ccxcix.

sword rather than the bare hand was used in the accolade; thirdly, the charge, if given, was much shorter: 'Sois chevalier au nom de Dieu', was the current form when Sir Thomas Smith wrote,<sup>1</sup> although somewhat earlier the charge 'Soyez preux, hardi et loyal' had been given.<sup>2</sup>

In making both knights of the Bath and knights bachelor at his coronation Edward VI was not alone: both sorts had been created at the marriage of Arthur, at the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, and at the coronations of Henry VII, Henry VIII and Ann Boleyn, and Mary was to follow the precedent at her coronation.<sup>3</sup> Why two ceremonies were considered necessary is not clear. Perhaps it has to do with distrust. Knights of the Bath, summoned individually by writ, were those whom the monarch was particularly anxious to honour, or those who were known to be able to bear the additional expense of such a ceremony. Those dubbed more ordinarily may have been those who had answered the general summons and had managed to convince the council that they were worthy to be knighted rather than making fine. They were, in a sense, afterwards, a view which is given some backing by the way in which Arundel had to procure a second commission to cover the number of knights he had

---

<sup>1</sup> De Republica Anglorum, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, i. 141-2, 145-50, 152. Ibid. ii. 23, 32, 34, 49, 66. Only one bachelor knight was made at the coronation of Henry VIII: W.C. Metcalfe, Book of Knights, 43. Bachelor knights do not appear to have been made at the coronation of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, at the creations of Arthur as Prince of Wales and of Henry as duke of York, and at the coronation of Elizabeth, although in the last case, some bachelor knights were envisaged, if Arundel's commission is any guide: Anstis, App. 56.

inadvertently made in 1553. On the other hand, the use of the shorter ceremony enabled the monarch to spread his act of munificence over the whole course of the coronation celebration, a consideration which must have borne some weight.

Little is known about the clothing worn by the esquires for this ceremony. One source tells of the knights' robes of purple,<sup>1</sup> but the author may have been thinking of knights of the Bath. Knights were privileged in what they could wear: the Tudors permitted them various fabrics and ornaments forbidden to the lower orders, including the collar of gold or collar of SS and gold chains.<sup>2</sup> A gold collar or chain made up of garters and roses was part of the insignia of a knight of the Garter, and was to be worn, according to a statute of the order in 1522 at all times except 'war, sickness and long voyage.'<sup>3</sup> The knight of the Bath depicted in Writhe's Garter Book wears an elaborate gold collar in the final stages of the ceremony<sup>4</sup> but in view of the absence of any mention of gold collars from the very full records of this type of ceremony it is safe to conclude that the one depicted was a personal ornament, probably a mark of royal favour. Henry IV had issued 61 collars of SS to both knights and esquires who took part in his coronation<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 39, f. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. pp. xxii-xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Anstis, Garter, ii. 121; Beltz, Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, xc.

<sup>4</sup> Wagner, op. cit. plate XII.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, iii. Bath, 16.

and the receipt of such a collar from the king was held sufficient to transform a mere gentleman into an esquire, while Henry V, by allowing all those present at Agincourt to wear one is said to have conferred the status of gentleman thereby.<sup>1</sup> Gold chains present more of a problem. Matthew Paris held that knights were distinguished by their gold chains,<sup>2</sup> but although they possessed them - Sir Thomas Talbot of Bashall, Lancashire, left one worth £80 - they were no longer the sole wearers, for the unknighthed Thomas Hesketh of Rufford also bequeathed one.<sup>3</sup> The statute of 1532 allowed gentlemen worth £200 to wear one (a provision which was relaxed to include most gentlemen by 1579) and made further exceptions for members of the royal household.<sup>4</sup> By the sixteenth century, it seems, many people were distinguished by their gold chains. Nevertheless, a number did receive them when they were dubbed and it is important to determine what part this played in the ceremony. In December 1549 the Venetian Senate voted to allow Sir Domenico Bollani, who had just returned from a spell as ambassador to England, to keep a gold chain and dubloons with which the English king had presented him.<sup>5</sup> In view of the fact

---

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1354, f. 50b; Anstis, Garter, ii. 108-9. On the collar of SS, see Wagner, op. cit. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> W. Berry, Encyclopoedia Heraldica, i. art. 'Knighthood'.

<sup>3</sup> Watson, 494; Add. MS. 32104, f. 347b; other examples of knights bequeathing chains, Sir Robert Lee: P.C.C. 27 Dyngley; Sir Roger Townshend: J.A.C. Durham, The Townshends of Rainham, i. 1398-1600, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Statutes of the Realm, iii. 430; Cyville and Uncyville Life, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, 50; Hughes and Larkin, i. 143, 146.

<sup>5</sup> C.S.P. Venetian, 1534-54, 598.

that Bollani was knighted in that year it is likely that the chain was presented at the knighting ceremony. This was done on at least two other occasions, the first early in July 1546 when the Venetian Francis Bernardo was given a gold chain at the time of his knighthood,<sup>1</sup> and again in 1550 when the council bought a 'flaggon chaine ... to be bestowed upon Anthony Guydot at the time the order of knighthood given unto him.'<sup>2</sup> Guidotti, like Bernardo, was knighted for his aid in peace negotiations<sup>3</sup> and the privy council may have decided that to expect him to pay £48 for a gold chain essential for the ceremony was hardly a reward. More probably, however, the chain represented an additional token of the council's gratitude. Henry's gift of a chain to Bernardo seems to have been of this order. The knighthood, or at least the gift, appears to have been an impulsive act, for the king had to borrow a chain from John Godsalue.<sup>4</sup> But the Tudors also gave gold chains long after knighthood: when Edward, lord Windsor received a gold chain set with rubies for his part in the capture of St. Quentin in 1557, he had been a knight for four years.<sup>5</sup> In view of this, and the fact that unknighted members of the royal household also wore them, it is best to regard the conferring of a gold chain as a token of royal favour, in the nature of

---

<sup>1</sup> L.P. xxi (1), 1243, 1383 g.45 dates the knighthood more precisely than Shaw ii. 58. The gold chain is mentioned in L.P. xxi (1), 1367.

<sup>2</sup> A.P.C. 1547-50, 422.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols, Lit. Rem. ii. 256-7.

<sup>4</sup> L.P. xxi (1), 1367.

<sup>5</sup> G.E.C. xii (2), 798.

a decoration, and not as an integral part of the knighting ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

It can hardly have been so in time of war. Military knightings were not without their splendour, however, especially when Henry VIII was on campaign. The making<sup>of</sup> a knight banneret was particularly colourful. Usually after a battle (and always on the battlefield under the king's standard), the candidate was escorted from his tent through the camp to the king's pavilion, which in the case of Henry VIII was either a splendid wooden affair or, on ceremonial occasions, a large tent made of cloth of gold.<sup>2</sup> Before him went the heralds, carrying the knight's furled pennon upon which his arms had been painted. Reaching the pavilion, the herald made a short speech of commendation: 'May it please your grace to understand this gentleman hath shewd himself valiant in the field, and in so doing deserveth to be advanced to the degree of Knight Banneret, as worthy henceforth to bear a banner in war.'<sup>3</sup> When bannerets were made before the action, as was the case with Gilbert Talbot, John Cheyney and William Stonor before the battle of Stoke in 1487,<sup>4</sup> it is not certain what would have taken the place of the herald's claim that the knight had shown himself valiant in the fight. A century earlier

---

<sup>1</sup> Godsalue, from whom Henry borrowed in 1546, was Clerk of the Signet; in 1511 all Henry's footmen accompanying him in the tilt wore gold chains: S. Anglo, The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, ii. plates VIII, XXII. See also Anstis, Garter, ii. 110-112.

<sup>2</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, Army Royal, 43-44.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. pp. xxxvi-xxxvii. Similar, though not identically-worded accounts are to be found in Harl. MS. 1107, f. 75b and Harl. MS. 1354, ff. 17-17b. These accounts are older than the Tudors, but the ceremony probably changed little. The only Tudor account is a much abbreviated one in Sir Thomas Smith, op. cit. (1621), 25, but curiously it does not appear in the Tudor editions: Nicolas, Knighthood, i. p. xlii.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, ii. 24.



when Sir Thomas Tryvett appeared before the duke of Buckingham to claim the honour before battle in 1380, he is reported to have said: 'I wish in this journey today to display my Banner; for, thank God, I have sufficient revenues to maintain the estate as a banneret ought.'<sup>1</sup>

Tryvett was a distinguished soldier and his courage may have been taken for granted, but money was an important consideration in the making of a banneret, for he had to be able to command a company of his own raising which should have included one or two knights. When the herald had made his speech, the king or his lieutenant commanded that the tip of the pennon be cut off so that it might become square in shape like the banner of a baron, and wished the banneret good success. The party then made its way back to the tent of the banneret as solemnly as it had come, accompanied by trumpeters.<sup>2</sup>

Originally, some bannerets later became knights of the Bath also, for the wardrobe accounts of the fourteenth century reveal that cloth and furniture (including beds and baths) were issued to some men 'tamquam Banerettis'.<sup>3</sup> Clearly the bathing ceremony was not being used to create bannerets, for the same accounts note also the issue of similar effects 'tamquam pro Comite'.<sup>4</sup> The reason for the inclusion of these phrases in the Wardrobe Accounts is plain: bannerets and earls were to have more cloth for their robes for this ceremony and were expected to pay higher fees to those officiating.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. p. xxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xxxvi-xxxvii; Smith, op. cit. (1621 ed.), 25.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, ii. Bath, 8-12.

<sup>4</sup> Anstis, App. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. p. xl; Add. MS. 9019, f. 7.

The reason for this multiplication of ceremonies is not clear. The ceremony of the Bath contained far more religious and chivalric meaning than the others and for that reason may have been regarded as the most important ceremony, the pinnacle of achievement in the knightly order (short of the Garter). Chivalry and social custom presented ambiguous attitudes, however, for in some matters (such as the payment of fees), the banneret was held to be superior and the knight of the Bath regarded as an ordinary knight. The ambiguities were not completely solved by the sixteenth century although by then no knight bachelor or banneret appears to have been called upon to become a knight of the Bath. On the other hand, bannerets and knights of the Bath had similar privileges in their funerals<sup>1</sup> while at the coronations of Henry VIII and Ann Boleyn, knights of the Bath came next in precedence to the barons, a position which bannerets (unmentioned in these records) were entitled to but did not get as a separate group until the coronation of Mary.<sup>2</sup> In general, however, knights of the Bath were less well distinguished from ordinary knights than bannerets. They had no separate style, and found no place in the precedence lists of the latter part of the century.<sup>3</sup> If Francis Thynne is to be believed, a number of nice social distinctions had arisen, knights of the Bath taking precedence over bachelor knights on all formal social occasions. But some of his

---

<sup>1</sup> Anstis, Essay, 79. On the important matter of the number of mourners they were both equated with knights bachelor: Wagner, op. cit. 108-9.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 12530, f. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1354, f. 5; Harl. MS. 1107, f. 80b; Harl. MS. 69, f. 52b; Add. MS. 12453, f. 83.

evidence is based on hearsay or could be interpreted differently, and only the coronation orders of precedence mentioned above suggest that his far from dispassionate research contains some truth. The vehemence of his argument suggests that the custom was in need of defence, if not revival, when he wrote in 1605.<sup>1</sup> The banneret was more specifically distinguished. He was supposed to take precedence over all ranks below baron, and had the baronial privileges of bearing a banner with arms in battle and of commanding a body of officers. In addition there were the more dubious privileges of taking a troop of his own raising to war, paying higher fees to heralds on the many occasions when their services were deemed necessary and foregoing the diets paid to justices of the peace attending quarter sessions.<sup>2</sup> The superiority of the title in Tudor eyes may also be judged by the fact that nearly all those who were made bannerets were knights already (sometimes knight of the Bath or knight of the Garter),<sup>3</sup> whereas Tudor knights of the Bath were esquires

---

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 12530, ff. 18b-19, 36. The MS. is the work of Lancaster Herald and was presented to James I in 1605. It is a piece of special pleading to show that knights of the Bath should take precedence over all other knights whenever they were made. It ends with a plea for more control by the College of Arms on the recognition of knights. Harl. MS. 5177, ff. 1-75 is a copy of this tract and Harl. MS. 6141, ff. 108-122 contains that part which Thynne appears to have put in simply to dispose of. Possibly Thynne's tract was an answer to this one.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. pp. xxxii, xxxviii, xl; W. Fitz Herbert, Short Enquiry ... Knights Banneret, 6-23.

<sup>3</sup> Two examples must suffice: Sir Edward Poynings, made a banneret in 1513, had been made a knight bachelor in 1485 and a knight of the Garter in 1493: Shaw, i. 18; Shaw, ii. 22, 36; D.N.B. Sir Andrew, lord Wyndesore, made a banneret in 1513, had been made a knight of the Bath in 1509: Shaw, i. 148; ii. 36.

to a man. It is all the more intriguing, therefore, that the title should have become virtually defunct after 1547.<sup>1</sup> Neither bannerets nor knights of the Bath should be regarded as separate orders, however, for they were without the formal organization which characterized the knights of the Garter.<sup>2</sup>

Accounts of the knighting of ordinary knights on more ordinary occasions are difficult to come by. Ceremony of some sort there was, especially when Henry VIII was on campaign. When he entered Tournai in September 1513, he first gave thanks in the church and then made a number of knights 'under his banner.'<sup>3</sup> This phrase suggests the making of bannerets, but the church could be called the battlefield only by a stretch of the imagination and it is more likely that it was knights bachelor whom Henry dubbed with considerable ceremony on this occasion. Doubtless at other times royal commanders and heralds made as much of the ceremony as they could and it may have been not unlike that for making a banneret.

It was not always thus, however. A few surviving accounts give

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. pp. xli-xlii. J. Stow, Annales, 739 recounts that four bannerets (the earl of Essex and lords Audley, North and Willoughby) were made by Leicester in 1586 at Zutphen, and E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England, vi. 217, repeats that Essex was so made on this occasion without giving a source. None of the heraldic MSS. confirm this view. Only Essex and Audley are listed for this date with no distinguishing remark; North appears only for 1558 and Willoughby appears in a number (though not all) for 1583 Harl. MS. 983, f. 3b; ibid. 6063, ff. 28b, 68; Add. MS. 32102, f. 128b. That Willoughby was knighted at some time is clear from his patent of 1587: Rymer, Foedera, vii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Anstis, Garter, ii. 107.

<sup>3</sup> L.P. i (2), 2301; C.G. Cruickshank, Army Royal, 150.

glimpses of dubbings which were hastily decided upon in circumstances which permitted little ceremony and which suggest a certain impetuosity on the part of the commander-in-chief. The earl of Southampton, for example, was knighted by Essex 'ere he could dry the sweat from his browes, or put his sword up in the scaberd' after a seashore skirmish in the Azores.<sup>1</sup> Even allowing for poetic licence, the knighting appears to have been a hasty affair. It was not unique. The year before, Essex had knighted Samuel Bagenal and Captain Medkirk while they lay bleeding on the battlefield lest they die before the ceremony could take place and thus lose their share in the honour.<sup>2</sup> Equally impetuous, but with less worthy motive, was Essex's dubbing of Robert Carey in 1591. 'As soon as he saw me,' Carey wrote, 'he drew his rapier, and came running to me, and laid it on my shoulder.'<sup>3</sup> And this, not for valour in the field, nor even for services to the monarch, but for the service Carey had just rendered in restoring Essex in Elizabeth's affections. Earlier still, the earl of Leicester had knighted Edward Stanley 'in the trenches' after witnessing his exceptional bravery. Leicester was overcome with admiration and followed the knighthood with a gift of money and a pension, signing a patent binding his own lands for its payment and later writing to Walsingham, 'This gentleman I shall never forget if I live a hundred years.'<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Gervase Markham, 'The Journey to the Azores', pp. 22-5 in his Honour in his Perfection (1624), quoted in Tenison, op. cit. x. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Tenison, op. cit. x. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Memoirs of Robert Carey, ed. H.G. Powell, 20. (Ex. inf. N. Fuidge).

<sup>4</sup> Tenison, op. cit. vi. 229-230, 235.

Elizabeth herself was not immune to the generous impulse of an unpremeditated knighthood, but she controlled it far better, especially when it seemed to involve providing an income to match the honour. In August 1565 a particularly happy reception at Coventry impelled her to knight the mayor, and he and the corporation were summoned to Kenilworth two days later. In the event, only the recorder of Coventry was honoured for the queen discovered that the mayor did not possess the means to support the dignity.<sup>1</sup> In Elizabeth, then, impulse was tempered by social policy and dubbing on progress was not a haphazard business. Coming, as it usually did, at the end of a visit, a knighthood was not only a useful and gracious way of thanking a city or a host for entertainment but also a suitable and memorable flourish with which to depart. These ceremonies were carefully managed pieces of pageantry if the record of the queen's visit to Cowdray in 1591 is a good guide. On August 21, Elizabeth was to leave Cowdray for Chichester and went as if to leave, 'going through the arbour to take horse.' Here stood six gentlemen 'whom hir Majestie knighted; the Lord Admirall laying the sworde on their shoulders.' The entire party then went to the 'dining place' whence, presumably after refreshment, the queen eventually departed.<sup>2</sup> The ceremony was essentially that already described for knights of the sword or knights of the carpet made at coronation times but this description of Thomas Scarlett's makes a nice distinction between the role of queen who is said to have knighted the gentlemen, and that of the lord

---

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, Progresses, 1. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. 96.

admiral who actually performed the dubbing ceremony. It is a distinction that would have pleased the queen, who often permitted her courtiers the privilege of laying on the sword in her presence. Leicester did so on a number of occasions between 1565 and 1583; so did the earl of Sussex in 1566, the earl of Essex and the duke of Norfolk in 1567, Sir Henry Sidney in 1584 and lord Hunsdon in 1583 and 1587.<sup>1</sup> She would have been happier still had her commanders-in-chief observed a similar distinction. Unfortunately for her (and sometimes for them) written instructions did not carry the same force as the immediate presence of the queen.<sup>2</sup>

According to a medieval treatise still being copied in the sixteenth century, it was the duty of the prince to grant his newly-made knight land or living.<sup>3</sup> There is evidence of such a practice in medieval England, although whether it was ever so general a practice as to be regarded an essential part of the ceremony is doubtful. The wardrobe accounts of Edward II record grants of £133.6.8 and £100 to William Herle and John de Norwich 'in aid of' their knighthoods,<sup>4</sup> while in August 1346 grants were made to seven men 'to support the order of knighthood which they have recently taken from the king' in France.<sup>5</sup> Edward III made

---

<sup>1</sup> Shaw, ii. 71-75, 77, 82, 85, 88. The lord admiral also laid the sword on the earl of Worcester before the Garter ceremony of 1593.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from commanders-in-chief, the Irish authorities also had the right to confer knighthood: for example, Sir William Drury and Sir William Pelham, lord justices in Ireland, made several knights in 1579: Shaw, ii. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Cotton MS. Tiberius, E. viii, f. 146.

<sup>4</sup> T. Stapleton, 'A brief summary of the Wardrobe Accounts of the tenth, eleventh and fourteenth years of King Edward the Second', *Archaeologia*, xxvi (1836), 345.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 6.

annuities ranging from 200 marks to £500, although these were for the more expensive rank of banneret, and Henry VI made at least one grant for the support of a bachelor knight.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Harris Nicolas suggested that the Tudors followed this medieval custom but his evidence seems to be based solely upon the grant of lands to Sir Ralph Vane who had been made a banneret in 1547.<sup>2</sup> It is true that the patent gives the support of his new rank as one reason for the grant, but it places greater emphasis upon the fact that Vane had not been recompensed for the ransom of the earl of Huntley, whom he had captured in 1547 and delivered to the king.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, knighthood was one of two reasons given for a grant made to Sir Philip Paris in 1554. In 1546 Paris had relinquished his office of receiver-general of the Court of Wards, agreeing to pay back a debt of £2,300 at the rate of £80 a year. The patent of 1554 reduced the rate to £40 a year because of 'great charges sustained in the service of Edward VI' and in order to permit him to 'maintain his state according to the trade and furniture of our commonweal, wherein he is of late preferred to the place and degree of knight.'<sup>4</sup> Despite the reference to Paris's services to the late king, it is more likely that both the knighthood and the reduction in repayment rates were a reward for his services in helping Mary to the throne.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that those who drew up the patents

---

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, i. p. xxxviii; Shaw, ii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. i. pp. xxxviii, xli. n.7.

<sup>3</sup> C.P.R. 1550-3, 12-13.

<sup>4</sup> J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards, 205; C.P.R. 1553-4, 135-136.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. inf. A.J.A. Malkiewicz.



thought it worth while to justify the grants partly in terms of knighthood shows that the notion that knighthood should be accompanied by a royal gift was not dead.

They were not the only knights to receive monetary reward at the time of their creation. Leicester's grant to the valorous Stanley has already been mentioned, and further examples are to be found among the 14 foreigners who received English knighthoods between 1545 and 1550. Five received annuities more or less at their time of knighthood<sup>1</sup> and two more received them a year or more after their creation.<sup>2</sup> Another, the German mercenary William Wallerthum, is known to have received both a pension and monetary gifts but the dates of both pension and knighthood are uncertain.<sup>3</sup> However, five men received annuities too long before their knighthoods for there to be any connexion between the two events.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the few patents which give reasons for the grants never mention knighthood as the medieval grants had done.<sup>5</sup> On the whole, it seems likely that these Tudor grants were additional rewards either for valour or for loyalty to the regime, or a recompense for expenses.

---

<sup>1</sup> See table 20, p. 227, section A. Sir Domenico Bollani, the Venetian ambassador, received a gift of money (though not an annuity): C.S.P. Venetian, 1534-54, 598; Shaw, ii. 63.

<sup>2</sup> See table 20, p. 227, section B.

<sup>3</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1547-80, 85; C.S.P. For. 1547-53, 211; A.P.C. 1550-52, 28. He had been knighted by Christmas 1550 when he is described by a herald as a Dutchman: College of Arms MS. Partition Book Temp. Henry VIII and Edward VI, f. 62b.

<sup>4</sup> See table 20, p. 227, section C.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the two annuities to Granado (and his wife) are said to be for his services to the late Henry VIII: C.P.R. 1547-8, 338; ibid. 1549-51, 306.

Table 20

	Name	Date of Annuity	Date of Knighthood
A	Sir Francis Bernardo	July 1546: <u>L.P. xxi (1)</u> , 1383 g.45.	early July 1546: <u>ibid. xxi (1)</u> , 1243, 1383 g.45.
	Sir Pedro de Gamboa	Sept. 1546: <u>ibid. xxi (2)</u> , 332 g.18.	July-Sept. 1546: <u>ibid. xxi (1)</u> , 1320; xxi (2), 332 g.18.
	Sir Julian Romero	Sept. 1546: <u>ibid. xxi (2)</u> , 332 g.17.	July-Sept. 1546: <u>ibid. xxi (1)</u> , 1367; xxi (2), 332 g.17.
	Sir Antonio Guidotti	April 1550: <u>C.P.R. 1549-51</u> , 307.	April 1550: Nichols, <u>Lit. Rem. ii. 256-7</u> .
	Sir Paul Baptist Spinola	Aug. 1550: <u>C.P.R. 1549-51</u> , 306.	after 1549, before Whitsun 1550: Shaw, ii. 64; College of Arms MS. Old Partition Book Miscellaneous, f. 101b.
B	Sir Jacques Granado	Nov. 1548: <u>C.P.R. 1547-8</u> , 338.	Oct. 1547: Shaw, ii. 62.
	Sir Jean de Fontenay als. Barteville	Feb. 1549: <u>C.P.R. 1548-9</u> , 181.	Sept. 1547: Shaw, ii. 62.
C	Philip, Count of Waldeck	? 1546: <u>L.P. xxi (2)</u> , 331 g.49.	Sept. 1547: Shaw, ii. 61.
	Sir Christopher Dias	Sept. 1546: <u>L.P. xxi(2)</u> , 332 g.19.	Sept. 1547: Shaw, ii. 62.
	Sir Alonzo de Villa Sirga	Sept. 1546: <u>L.P. xxi(2)</u> , 332 g.20.	Sept. or Oct. 1547: Shaw, ii. 62; Nichols, <u>Lit. Rem. i. p. ccvii</u> .
	Sir Peter Negro	Sept. 1546: <u>L.P. xxi(2)</u> , 332 g.14.	Sept. or Oct. 1547: Shaw, ii. 62; Nichols, <u>Lit. Rem. i. p. ccvii</u> .
	Sir John Rybault	before July 1547: <u>A.P.C. 1547-50</u> , 110.	Oct. 1547: Shaw, ii. 63.

In any case, these men were exceptional: they were all foreigners. Englishmen fared less well: of a sample group of 15 men knighted in 1547, none appears to have received a grant in connexion with the honour.<sup>1</sup> If the custom was not quite dead, it was breathing its last by the middle of the century and Elizabeth's action at Coventry in 1565, as well as her instructions to her commanders to knight only those with adequate means, show that she was not anxious to revive it.<sup>2</sup>

Tudor knights appear to have been as eager as their monarchs to discard medieval custom. No ceremony was considered complete without the payment of fees, always to the heralds and often to household officials also. They were not always paid with good grace. Sometimes they were not paid at all. At least one early Tudor herald was much exercised over the matter, writing 'Sir John Harington ... is not willing never to do so as a gentleman should doe he saith as yet I pray god learne him better.' If Harington was unique, it was only in the vehemence of his refusal, for the same manuscript contains references to a number of knights who had only paid part of their fees.<sup>3</sup> The difficulty which the heralds encountered in collecting fees at this time can also be gauged by the

---

<sup>1</sup> The last eight in Shaw's list of knights of the carpet made at the coronation (ii. 60) and the last seven Englishmen in Shaw's list of those made at Roxburgh, 16-25 Sept. 1547 (ii. 62). One of these men, Thomas Challoner, received an annuity of £50 in May 1550 but this was clearly in connexion with his appointment as a clerk of the Privy Council (C.P.R. 1549-51, 187). A second, Andrew Dudley, was granted the income (unspecified) of some houses and lands in and around Westminster Hall in Oct. 1548 (ibid. 1548-9, 245).

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 115-6, 223.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 5177, ff. 108b, 109. See also Add. MS. 38133, f. 127.

praise which the herald lavished upon those who caused no trouble: 'these noble knights well and liberally paid the whole fees'; 'wel paid'; 'hath truly paide'.<sup>1</sup> Evasion and part payment continued throughout the sixteenth century. For bannerets, part payment became customary,<sup>2</sup> and they were not alone in their attempts to be knighted cheaply. The lords Clinton and Conyers, who by virtue of their titles should have paid 40 shillings when they were knighted in 1544, paid only half their fees.<sup>3</sup> Sir Michael Stanhope, knighted in 1545, paid 18 shillings,<sup>4</sup> a fee to be paid by four knights in the reign of Edward VI, while Andrew Flamoke, knighted in 1544, paid only 12 shillings and Thomas Corbett nine.<sup>5</sup> Some, like Thomas Seymour and Garter Christopher Barker, paid nothing at all,<sup>6</sup> although their names are seldom recorded in the heralds' partition books.<sup>7</sup>

The cost to those who paid their fees varied according to their method of entry into the order. The cheapest method was almost certainly to be dubbed a knight bachelor on the field of battle where the heralds' fee of 20 shillings appears to have been the only formal charge.<sup>8</sup> To become a

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 5177, ff. 108b-109; Add. MS. 38133, f. 127b.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> College of Arms MS. Partition Tpe. H. 8. Usq. An. R. Eliz. f. 106.

<sup>4</sup> College of Arms MS. Partition Book Temp. Henry VIII and Edward VI, f. 22.

<sup>5</sup> College of Arms MS. Old Partition Book Misc. ff. 13, 50, 112b.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. f. 13; College of Arms MS. Partition Book Temp. Henry VIII and Edward VI f. 42b.

<sup>7</sup> Fees were still being withheld in the reign of James I: Add. MS. 38139, f. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Add. MS. 9019, f. 5. Harl. MS. 1153, f. 12b. College of Arms MSS. Partition Books, *passim*.

banneret was more expensive. The banner had to have a coat of arms embroidered or painted on it, the trumpeters were to be rewarded with 20 shillings and the heralds with £3.6.8.<sup>1</sup> Some of Henry VII's bannerets paid these fees faithfully, but more paid only 40 shillings,<sup>2</sup> and thereby established a custom which the heralds of Henry VIII and Edward VI were unable to break. Although at one time they were confidently petitioning Henry VIII for the full fee of five marks to be enforced, at another (while the duke of Suffolk held the office of earl marshal) they appear to have been prepared to settle for 30 shillings if they could get it, and the last bannerets of the Tudor period (made in 1547), paid 40 shillings.<sup>3</sup>

Even at its greatest, the initial cost of becoming a banneret compared favourably with that of becoming a knight bachelor at court, where, in addition to the heralds' fee of 20 shillings, there were fees payable to certain officers of the household amounting to £2 earlier in the century and £2.10.0 later.<sup>4</sup> Fees were to increase dramatically in the seventeenth century: in 1604 they totalled £17, in 1626 they had risen to £50.2.8 and by 1681 to £82.13.4.<sup>5</sup> It is tempting to blame the increase on a swollen and corrupt court, but the upward curve may well have had its modest beginnings in the sixteenth century, for it is probable

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, Knighthood, 1. p. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS. 38133, f. 127-127b.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MS. 9019, ff. 4, 52. College of Arms MS. Partition Tpe. H. 8. Usq. An. R. Eliz. f. 124b.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MS. 6064, f. 79, printed in The Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J.G. Nichols (Camden Soc. O.S. xlii), 342; Harl. MS. 1354, f. 34; Stowe MS. 1047, f. 24~~6~~; Harl. MS. 1107, f. 35b.

<sup>5</sup> Add. MS. 38139, f. 55; Harl. MS. 293, f. 202; H.M.C. 2nd Report, Appendix, 68.

that Stuart courtiers did openly what their Tudor counterparts did more discreetly. A somewhat indignant note on the fees charged when Philip II knighted some gentlemen at court in 1554 states that both grooms and pages doubled their fees and that the gentlemen of the privy chamber, who had previously never figured in a list of fees, had collected 13s.4d. from each knight.<sup>1</sup> The affair must have occasioned enough comment to make the gentlemen of the privy chamber more discreet in future, for they do not appear in a later list of official charges, but that does not mean that they ceased their activities. Certainly the grooms and pages (whose claim to fees was anciently established) were undeterred by the criticism and continued to collect 10 shillings instead of five.<sup>2</sup> Thus, when James I set the fees at £17, he may have been doing no more than giving official sanction to the unofficial practice of his and Elizabeth's courtiers. His claim that the fees he now sanctioned 'hath bein usually paid by every gent that hath received the Order of Knighthood'<sup>3</sup> was not wholly correct, for the heralds (here allowed £5) had previously only collected £1,<sup>4</sup> but it probably contained a grain of truth as far as the activities of his courtiers were concerned.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 4712, f. 50b; Harl. 6064, f. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 1354, f. 34; Harl. MS. 1107, f. 35b.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MS. 38139, f. 55.

<sup>4</sup> College of Arms MSS. Partition Books, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> A further payment may have been £3.6.8 to the Earl Marshal which was apparently payable when a new knight did homage to the king (Harl. MS. 6064, f. 125b), but this charge instead of the more ancient £5 (*ibid.* 124b; cf. Anstis, *App.* 43) appears only on lists of fees for the Tudor knights of the Bath, and does not appear on an official list of fees for a bachelor knight until 1626: Harl. MS. 293, f. 202. A few MSS. also mention the knight's robe as payment to the officers at arms, e.g. Harl. MS. 1107, f. 35b. It is difficult to substantiate this claim, for the Partition Books do not record the partitioning of robes except in the case of barons.

There were other expenses. Courtiers who obtained knighthoods for clients expected rewards. Evidence of this type of payment comes almost exclusively from the seventeenth century but Tudor courtiers probably also had their price. That they procured knighthoods for their clients has already been shown;<sup>1</sup> that they did so for nothing seems inconsistent with the spirit of Tudor society in which the gift for a favour was an accepted convention. By bestowing knighthood so liberally, James I transformed what had been a rare opportunity for profit into big business and thus occasioned more widespread comment. The more comment there was, the more likely that some of it would survive, but the existence of comment and other evidence dating from the time of James I is a sign of the extent of the practice rather than of its novelty.

To show that the practice existed, however, is not to say that it was universal. Thomas Barnham was able to boast of a free knighthood at the coronation of James I<sup>2</sup> and he must have had many Tudor precursors. But none could avoid the expense of travelling to and staying in London, and of being dressed (together with one's lady and servants) in a manner befitting the occasion and the dignity. In 1537, William Hulton estimated in the Duchy Court that it had cost him more than £5 to travel from Lancashire to London simply to pay a fine.<sup>3</sup> How much more the journey

---

<sup>1</sup> See above, p.126, 155-8.

<sup>2</sup> 'A copy of an original manuscript of Sir Francis Barnham', ed. T. Barrett Lennard, *Ancestor*, ix (1904), 205.

<sup>3</sup> Pleadings and depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster in the time of Henry VIII, ed. H. Fishwick (Lancashire and Cheshire Record Soc. xxv), 108.

and stay would have cost for a more august occasion including an appearance at court is difficult to calculate, but it would surely have been double that amount: short periods of residence in London were sufficiently expensive to cause some quite wealthy peers to absent themselves from attendance at parliament.<sup>1</sup>

To be knighted by the monarch on progress can hardly have been less expensive. The heralds certainly collected their fees and since the court travelled with the monarch, its officers probably collected theirs also. Incidental expenses may have been less on some occasions, but the host of a Tudor monarch earned his knighthood dearly. Those who lived in the area and gave attendance probably entered the order more cheaply, although at least one such knight was involved in considerable expense: Sir John Young is reported to have 'paid for his dignity by the present of a jewel' which contained 'divers rubyes and dyamondes, whearin is a phenex and salamaundre of agathe.'<sup>2</sup>

The most costly method of entering the order of knighthood was by the Bath. John Legh of Stokewell paid £18.5.11 in fees and charges for furniture in 1501<sup>3</sup> and this does not include a customary fee of £4 to his two esquires of honour whom he presumably paid by the alternative method of a yearly fee at pleasure.<sup>4</sup> Another detailed list of charges (including the £4 to the esquires of honour) is slightly higher (£22.5.0), a number

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Miller, *The Early Tudor Peerage, 1485-1547* (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1950), 163-4.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, *Progresses*, i. 393, 379.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 41, f. 17-17b.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ff. 16b, 24.



of smaller fees and the price of furnishings having risen,<sup>1</sup> and it is reasonable to suppose that the cost of the ceremony rose with prices throughout the Tudor period.

In 1547 knights of the Bath were ordered to pay 'dowble the some of other knightes' and the heralds successfully collected 40 shillings from most of them.<sup>2</sup> The reason given for this increase was that 'they were nominate of the Bath, and made with so great royaltie', but the additional 20 shillings was probably intended as a composition for the various items of the knight's clothing which the heralds did not receive because the ceremony did not take place as prescribed. If this were an attempt by the heralds to raise their fees permanently it was unsuccessful, for at subsequent Tudor coronations the knights of the Bath paid the traditional 20 shillings.<sup>3</sup> A list of charges to be made at the coronation of 1533 has an addition: the clothes worn by the intending knight when he entered court were to be a fee to the serjeant of the Chaundry,<sup>4</sup> who presumably gathered them up when they were removed for the bathing ceremony. Fees did not invariably move upwards, however. According to a heraldic account of the ceremony of 1494, the customary fee to the earl marshal was £5. On that occasion, however, it was reduced to £2 on account of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. f. 24-24b.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, Lit. Rem. i. p. ccc; College of Arms MS. Old Partition Book Miscellaneous, ff. 63b-64b; College of Arms MS. Partition Book Tpe. Hen. 8, Usq. An. R. Eliz. f. 116.

<sup>3</sup> College of Arms MS. Old Partition Book Miscellaneous, ff. 115, 134. College of Arms MS. Partition Book Tpe. H. 8. Usq. An. R. Eliz. ff. 153b, 198b.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MS. 41, f. 16.

poor quality of the horses,<sup>1</sup> and the earl marshal did not recover his full fees at subsequent ceremonies. In the three extant lists<sup>2</sup> he receives only £3.6.8, although there was an abortive attempt to revive the charge of £5 in 1533.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to these basic charges of over £20, there were the expenses entailed in coming to and living in the capital at a time of high prices like a coronation, of dressing fitly for the ceremonial occasions which his knighthood was to decorate, and of participating in the jousts which invariably followed.<sup>4</sup> There may have been little of the Christian ethic left in knighthood by Tudor times, but the Tudor knight at least had opportunity at his creation to discover whether it was more blessed to give than to receive.

---

<sup>1</sup> Anstis, App. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 41, ff. 16-16b, 17, 24-24b.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 41, f. 16b. In this list the charge of £5 is written in but by the side has been written 66s. 8d.

<sup>4</sup> Fees for entering the tilt doubled when an esquire became a knight: Harl. MS. 1107, f. 76b.

## Chapter VII

### Servants of the Crown (i)

'Honourable and onerous' is Sir Thomas Elyot's description of the knighthood granted him in 1530,<sup>1</sup> and the notion that by his time knighthood was or had become a burdensome honour persists. Professor Hurstfield asserts that men were fined by Charles I 'for not taking up the duties of knighthood' and that Elizabeth had given them the opportunity to opt out of these duties by composition. As Professor Hurstfield recognized, however, it is easier to assume the existence of these duties than to discover their nature: they were, he notes, 'unspecified'.<sup>2</sup>

At least one duty is evident, namely that knights alone were supposed to form a jury to act upon a writ of right. Sir Richard Baker justified the size of James I's coronation knightings on the grounds that 'scarce any county of England had knights enow to make a jury.'<sup>3</sup> In writ of right cases, the sheriff had to summon four knights to the Grand Assize who in turn were to choose twelve knights to make a jury.<sup>4</sup> Few counties

---

<sup>1</sup> Original Letters, ed. H. Ellis, 1st Series, ii. 117.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards, 1756.

<sup>3</sup> Chronicle of the Kings of England, 105.

<sup>4</sup> F.M. Nichols, 'On feudal and obligatory knighthood', Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), 201; Stowe MS. 589, f. 69b-70. Four knights were also needed when a sheriff's court was accused of giving a false judgment, *ibid.* f. 70b; knights were also used on writs of venire facias and de malo lectis: J. Doddridge, Judge Doddridge His Law of Nobility and Peerage, 135-8.

can have had twelve knights who were not in some way interested parties. The difficulty was real enough but it dates from the time of Edward III and long before Baker wrote, a method of overcoming it had been adopted which relieved the pressure on knights and made large-scale knightings unnecessary: in the reign of Henry IV judges began to accept the names of non-knights provided the sheriffs returned them falsely as knights, a practice which was to last until the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Jury service on a writ of right, accompanied as it could be by a trial by combat, was a relic of knighthood in its early medieval form when two aspects stood out clearly above the others: the contractual nature of landholding and its consequent military service. The feudal knight had duties which imposed considerable financial and military burdens upon him; in addition to the various feudal incidents he had to follow his lord into battle with his men adequately equipped. The burdens were such that men may have been seeking to avoid knighthood as early as the reign of Henry III,<sup>2</sup> but by the fifteenth century at latest the notion of military service as a special knightly duty was moribund.<sup>3</sup> The steady decline in the numbers of the order in the later Middle Ages can be partly attributed to the new military techniques which were being

---

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, loc. cit. 225. This practice was probably also adopted in other legal procedures. It is not unlike the parliamentary practice of allowing men who were not knights to sit as knights of the shire: see above, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> M. Powicke, 'Distraint of knighthood and military obligation under Henry III', Speculum, xxv (1950), 457, 463.

<sup>3</sup> M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England, 178.

developed,<sup>1</sup> and certainly by the sixteenth century the knight had no specific place in the army.<sup>2</sup> The feudal basis of landholding had changed by then also, and although the crown continued to reap bastard feudal revenues, it did so irrespective of a man's title, which could neither save him from exactions if he held land in chief nor impose them upon him if he did not.<sup>3</sup>

The old social order was changing and knighthood with it. The decline in the knighting activity of the crown in the fifteenth century and the rise towards its close of that pseudo-chivalry which became fashionable at the court and which was fed by, and in turn encouraged, a welter of chivalric handbooks and other literature<sup>4</sup> was symptomatic of that change. In that literature another aspect of a knight's work, never entirely forgotten but the only one which in the changing situation could provide the knight with a *raison d'être*, was brought to the fore: that of administering justice. This theme was to be expanded and to receive its fullest treatment in Sir Thomas Elyot's non-chivalric Governour, but even Spenser's Artegall who, assisted by Talus, rules mercilessly by the sword in the interests of equity and in defence of the oppressed, was in real

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 178; J. Hale, 'Gunpowder and the Renaissance', From the Renaissance to the Counter Reformation, ed. C.H. Carter, 122; A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry, 114-5.

<sup>2</sup> J.J. Goring, The military obligations of the English people, 1511-1558 (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1955); C.G. Cruickshank, Army Royal and Elizabeth's Army; L. Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia.

<sup>3</sup> J. Hurstfield, op. cit. 176-77.

<sup>4</sup> Ferguson, op. cit. *passim*.

life the justice of the peace, the sheriff and, in times of foreign danger, the deputy lieutenant. Spenser's literary convention demanded somewhat more crusading individuals than these real-life officers, but their functions were basically the same: to keep law and order at home by dealing with any who threatened the existing social system and to save England (ever just) from the foe.<sup>1</sup> Earlier, in 1483, Carton's interpretative translation of the ancient Order of Chivalry claimed that knights were, under kings, second only to priests and should be the king's natural governors, being unsuitable for the judicial bench only on account of their lack of specialized legal knowledge,<sup>2</sup> a disability quickly disappearing with the educational revolution of the sixteenth century. One fifteenth-century commentator deplored the growing interest of knights in legal matters but other authors continued to urge upon their readers the right and duty of a knight to participate in governing the commonwealth.<sup>3</sup> A high quality of service as well as life had been implicit in the charge given to the knights of the Bath at their initiation ceremony<sup>4</sup> and it is reasonable to suppose that serving the crown in local administration might well have become a major duty for knights. Dr. Ferguson has no hesitation

---

<sup>1</sup> F. Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England, 187, does not, it seems to me, take Spenser's literary mould into sufficient account and thus sees more difference between Elyot's *Governour* and Spenser's *Artegall* than really exists. As he admits, their aims were the same.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii), 116, 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Boke of Noblesse, ed. J.G. Nichols, 76-77; Cotton MS. Tiberius, E. VIII, f. 153b; Harl. MS. 39, f. 316; *ibid.* 1776, f. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Anstis, App. 100.

in equating knighthood and administrative duties, at least until the fourteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Thrupp infers a similar equation for the fifteenth: 'the ideas of knighthood were failing to kindle enthusiasm for the governmental work of the counties,' she remarks, and uses this observation to explain the crown policy of restraint.<sup>2</sup>

Such an interpretation ignores the fact that many local gentlemen carried on the business of local administration with enthusiasm even without a knighthood, but this does not necessarily mean that knighthood had been divorced from the duties of local administration in the minds of fifteenth-century government, as Ferguson implies,<sup>3</sup> for a knighthood may well have been an encouragement to carry out more faithfully the ever increasing number of duties which Tudor governments thrust upon their local gentlemen. Sir Thomas Smith recognized that knighthood could be given 'before the battle to encourage them the more to adventure their lives'<sup>4</sup> and by the end of the century Sir Thomas Wilson was transferring the inducement from the military to the civil sphere: the important country gentry are knighted 'to induce them to live in a more honorable manner, both for their own Creditt and the service of their Prince and Country, than otherwise perhaps they wold have done.'<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ferguson, op. cit. 113.

<sup>2</sup> S. Thrupp, The Medieval Merchant Class of London, 276. For a similar view for the sixteenth: Watson, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Ferguson, op. cit. 113.

<sup>4</sup> De Republica Anglorum, 21.

<sup>5</sup> T. Wilson, The State of England, Anno Dom. 1600, ed. F.J. Fisher (Camden Miscellany xvi), 23. See also H.M.C. Verulam 1154-1852, 25, where an early 17th century writer considers that knighthood 'was wont to encourage generous myndes unto high exployts.'

Wilson here only elaborated a point made by Smith who had held that while some gentlemen were knighted for service others were dubbed 'for some good hope through virtues which do appear in them'.<sup>1</sup> But Wilson translated the generalisations into practical terms: knights, he asserted (with some exaggeration), were all justices of the peace unless they were suspect on the religious grounds.<sup>2</sup>

Nor was it the theorists alone who envisaged knighthood as encouraging greater service in the civil sphere. In 1532 the earl of Northumberland asked Henry VIII for power to knight some men in the marches, thus 'incoraging the hartes of gentilmen to serve me better underneth your gracious Highness,'<sup>3</sup> while the practice of placing knights at the head of lists of commissioners may have been more than a bureaucratic convention: the order in which justices of the peace were listed was rigidly adhered to in the seating arrangements for quarter sessions,<sup>4</sup> thus placing them in a position of leadership. Whether that position was more apparent than real no list of itself can show.

Knights also appear at the head of ad hoc commissions, but it is unsafe to infer from this, as Watson does,<sup>5</sup> that they were therefore chairmen or that they did any more work than their unknighthed colleagues. In late-Elizabethan Norfolk, unknighthed men worked just as diligently on these commissions as their knighted brethren. The unknighthed Bassingbourne

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, op. cit. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, op. cit. 23.

<sup>3</sup> State Papers: King Henry VIII, iv. p. 629.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, 48.

<sup>5</sup> Watson, 149-51.



Gawdy was in charge of a number of different commissions even when knights who preceded him on the list were members. Similarly, the unknighthed John Spring appears to have been leading a commission which had at least one knight, Sir John Higham, on it. The fact that the prominent though unknighthed Gawdy was not leading this particular commission is best explained in geographical terms: Spring's commission was predominantly a Suffolk one and was to meet at Bury St. Edmunds. But this explanation will not serve when two men resided within the same administrative division of the county as did Edmund Moundeford and Gawdy; it is significant that a letter of 1 September 1599 reads as if the now knighted Gawdy is no longer in charge, and while this may be the fault of a badly constructed letter, another of 22 March 1600 again supports the thesis that, whether for geographical or other reasons, knights did not monopolise the leadership in local administration.<sup>1</sup>

This is not to say that they were unimportant. For the purpose of subsidy assessments, the commissioners divided themselves geographically into groups,<sup>2</sup> and often, though not invariably, a knight was placed at the head of each division. Where there was no knight in a division little attempt seems to have been made to switch one from another part of the county, although for reasons not altogether clear knights did sometimes act in divisions other than the one in which they resided. In 1594, for

---

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C. Gawdy, 31, 35, 52, 66, 68.

<sup>2</sup> A practice encouraged by statutes 22 H8 c.12; 33 H8 c.10. Although they were repealed in 1546, the practice seems to have continued. See the certificates accompanying the subsidy returns, E 179.

example, Sir Thomas Wroughton, resident in the Wiltshire division which included the Highworth Hundred,<sup>1</sup> was commissioner also for the Snarborough group of hundreds together with the unknighthed Henry Baynton.<sup>2</sup> Henry's father, Sir Edward, had died only the year before<sup>3</sup> and had been in charge of this division during his lifetime.<sup>4</sup> Wroughton's supervision of a division in which he did not reside may have had little to do with a notion that each division should have a knight to lead in the work of assessment for no knight is listed for the Aldesbury group of hundreds.<sup>5</sup> More probably Wroughton was selected to help the young Baynton because Baynton either lacked experience or was the only resident commissioner in his division. Baynton's name alone appears on the collector's certificate for the division,<sup>6</sup> a discovery which suggests that Wroughton was acting in an advisory capacity or that his name was placed in this division to prevent allegations of unfairness caused by a commissioner's acting alone; most probably, however, he was selected because he was familiar with the division - he had possessed land in Swanborough hundred and was assessed there in 1577.<sup>7</sup> Wroughton appears to have come to the aid of a fellow

<sup>1</sup> E 179/198/315.

<sup>2</sup> E 179/198/313; E 179/198/312a.

<sup>3</sup> P.C.C. 76 Nevell.

<sup>4</sup> His son Henry was resident there according to the return of 1594: E 179/198/313. The returns for this group of hundreds have not survived for the years before 1594 except in the Proby MS. transcript for 1577 where Baynton is assessed in a different area of the county. He may have moved, but he may have been in charge of the division without his principal residence being there.

<sup>5</sup> E 179/198/314.

<sup>6</sup> E 179/198/312a.

<sup>7</sup> Proby MS. Transcript, f. 166d.

knight in 1587, when Sir John Danvers, although a member of the commission,<sup>1</sup> did not assess the Malmesbury group of hundreds, leaving Sir Henry Knyvett as the sole resident commissioner<sup>2</sup> and Knyvett returned the compliment in 1594.<sup>3</sup> Earlier, in 1581, both Wroughton and Baynton had helped Sir John Danvers when he was the sole resident commissioner in his division.<sup>4</sup> No unknighthed gentleman, by contrast, appears to have carried out the work of assessment outside his administrative 'limit' in Wiltshire during the 1580's and 1590's. The Wiltshire knights, or rather, some of the Wiltshire knights played, and possibly were expected to play, a more active role.

The same impression is derived from the action of the Wiltshire justices of the peace who, in the Michaelmas session of 1592, decided to levy money to repair the county gaol and divided the shire into six divisions, one called the earl of Pembroke's and the other five named after a knight presumably resident in the area.<sup>5</sup> Each division was responsible for contributing a sum specified at the sessions and the knights named were probably responsible for its collection. This is a much more obviously personal responsibility than was implied in the division list of commissions for the national subsidy, for there the

<sup>1</sup> C 212/22/10.

<sup>2</sup> E 179/259/20.

<sup>3</sup> E 179/198/315.

<sup>4</sup> E 179/198/296. It was a division familiar to Baynton, who possessed lands in Chippenham hundred and was assessed there in 1577: Proby MS. Transcript, f. 170d.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes and Proceedings in Session 1563, 1574-1592, ed. H.C. Johnson (Wilts. Archaeological and Natural History Soc. Records Branch, iv), 153.

knight's name merely appeared at the top of a list whereas here it appears alone. Since three of the five knights named were absent from this session there can be no question of the justices present having shared out the work among themselves, while the fact that two were present shows that the justices were not passing burdensome responsibilities to those who had had no chance to refuse.<sup>1</sup> It seems clear that the county was divided up into administrative divisions and that a nobleman or knight was the accepted leader in each of these units. The units may well have coincided with the six divisions by groups of hundreds into which the subsidy commissioners separated.

Doubtless, as in the work of subsidy assessment, the choice of a knight to lead these gaol divisions was tempered by geographical availability, and the fact that in Wiltshire no division was in the hands of a non-knight may simply reflect Wiltshire's large spread of knighted gentry.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, while residence was important, the fact that knights were chosen to lead county divisions if they were available suggests that the choosing of a non-knight was looked upon as an unfortunate second-best: where a knight was available, he was expected to take the lead and in Wiltshire he usually did.

Perhaps it was the notion that knights were needed to carry out the duties of local administration which prompted the knighting on progress

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 151.

<sup>2</sup> It is presumed that the earl of Pembroke's division coincided with the subsidy division of 1594 presided over by Edward and John Penruddock and Henry St. Clere: E 179/198/314.

of three Sussex gentlemen in 1573 and of a further three in 1591. On both occasions there was only one resident knighted justice of the peace and in 1591 he was Sir Thomas Shirley senior who was too busy administering war finances to spend time on local administration and had not attended quarter sessions since 1578.<sup>1</sup> A similar case could be made out for the knightings of 1578 in Norfolk where the number of knights on the commission rose from two to nine as a result of the progress, two newly made knights finding their way onto the commission for the first time. To give more balance to the commission cannot have been the only motive for these dubbings, however, for one of those knighted in 1573 never became a justice, even after he completed his term as sheriff. Yet Sir Thomas Palmer of Angmering was a loyal government servant and became deputy lieutenant of his county in 1585. It is unlikely that he was left off the commission because he was considered to have had too much other governmental business to attend to: such considerations did not prevent central government officials and secretaries of state from having their names at the head of many county commissions, and Sir Nicholas Parker, Palmer's fellow-deputy lieutenant of Sussex, was a constant member of the bench of local justices. Similarly, Sir John Caryll, one of those knighted at Cowdray in 1591 did not find his way onto the commission, while Sir Edward Clere, knighted at

---

<sup>1</sup> E 372/425-438; D.W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant, 41-46. Shirley's son and namesake, also a knight, was not on the commission, being young, out of royal favour, and in prison for a time: ibid. 27, 32-33. Sir Thomas Palmer of Angmering resided mainly at Blackwall in Surrey by this date: Mousely, 637. The figures in this paragraph are based on table 21 (below, p. 249).

Norwich in 1578, did not become a Norfolk justice until 1583. These cases were not wholly exceptional: an analysis of the commissions of the peace for Lancashire, Norfolk and Sussex shows that knights were not invariably justices of the peace. Sir Thomas Wilson maintained that only those suspect on religious grounds were left out, and more recently Mr. J.P. Cooper has assumed the corollary that before the religious troubles all knights were justices.<sup>1</sup> In fact, of the 35 commissions listed in table K, only two, one for Norfolk in 1590, contain all the resident knights.<sup>2</sup>

In general, knights were numerically stronger on the commission earlier in the century. Only once were they in a majority (in Norfolk in 1515), but if the commission be split in three (as in table K), knights were the largest single group on the Norfolk bench for much of the first half of the century and on a single occasion in Sussex. Members of non-knightly families formed a majority of the Sussex bench by the late 1540's, however, and although they took longer to reach this position in Lancashire and Norfolk, non-knightly families were preponderant in all three counties by the 1570's. Thus the sixteenth century witnessed a gradual decline in the knighted element of the commission of the peace and this is only partly attributable to the decline in the number of knights after 1550 for

---

<sup>1</sup> T. Wilson, The State of England Anno. Dom. 1600, ed. F.J. Fisher (Camden Miscellany, xvi), 23; J.P. Cooper, 'The social distribution of land and men in England, 1436-1700', Econ. H.R. Second Ser. xx (1967), 422, 424.

<sup>2</sup> The other was in 1547, also for Norfolk: table K. The following paragraph is also based upon this table and on table 21 (below p. 249).

the one is not an accurate reflection of the other, especially towards the end of the century. For example, when the government had 17 knights available for service as justices of the peace in Norfolk in 1601, knights comprised 29 per cent of the commission whereas in the first half of the century, when there were generally fifteen knights available, the knighted portion of the commission stood at about 40 per cent. Clearly, the invasion of the commission by large numbers of men from non-knightly families was having its effect.

The trend had disturbed Burghley, who wanted to see the administration of the county in the hands of its principal gentlemen - a group of six at most.<sup>1</sup> Had he succeeded, knights would doubtless have formed the majority rather than a constantly declining minority, but since it was the social dilution of the commission which troubled him, the knighting of inferior men simply to restore a balance of knights and non-knights was out of the question. The growing number of unknightsed justices of the peace is therefore no guide to governmental thinking on the place of the knight in local administration.

The desire (and pressure) to become a justice of the peace doubtless grew in times of faction, as Dr. Hassell Smith illustrates,<sup>2</sup> but the inflation of the commissions of Sussex and Lancashire suggest that there were other reasons also. Social ambition, reflected in the growing attempts to become a knight, must have played its part, but so also did a determination to participate in the administration of the country, a determination of which the competition for parliamentary seats is another symptom.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, 65; SP 12/17, f. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, 329-32.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 196-7.

Table 21

Date <sup>1</sup>	Lancashire		Norfolk		Sussex	
	I	II	I	II	I	II
1515	15	42 (52)	15	42 (52)	6	18 (25)
1531			12	39 (40)	14	39 (48)
1538			16	39 (36)	15	31 (34)
1543			15	44 (41)	12	12 (14)
1547			15	36 (39)	11	13 (15)
1554			21	46 (48)	9	13
1558	19	41	16	36	6	12
1562	14	24	12	44 (48)	4	8
1575	7	15	6	9	4	11 (15)
1579			16	30 (33)	4	13 (17)
1585	11	11	11	26 (28)	2	3 ( 4)
1590	8	12 (14)	10	28	3	5
1596	7	11 (13)	15	28 (30)	6	12
1601	9	9 (11)	17	29	6	8 (12)

<sup>1</sup> For sources, and variations on these dates, see notes to table K .

Column I: number of knights available.

Column II: knighted portion of the commission of the peace expressed as a percentage. Figures in brackets give percentage when knights not normally resident are included.



The smaller commissions earlier in the century, with their greater proportion of knighted members, as well as the later abortive attempts to revert to them, indicate that the government generally expected knights to undertake what may earlier have been regarded as a less attractive and somewhat burdensome, or simply a more exclusive, business. Whether they undertook it or not no mere list of justices of the peace can show; to appraise the activity of knights as justices of the peace it is necessary to look at other evidence.<sup>1</sup>

Three classes of evidence exist: the certificates of information to the exchequer known as estreats, which are concerned with the fines levied at sessions and which always commence by reciting the members present and the date and venue of the sitting;<sup>2</sup> the claims made by the sheriff for his payment of the statutory four shillings a day to justices attending quarter sessions, which are found on the pipe roll<sup>3</sup> and, in some cases, in the exchequer auditor's examination of the sheriff's claim, the particulars of account;<sup>4</sup> finally, the quarter sessions registers which list those present before recording the business of each session.<sup>5</sup> Only the pipe

---

<sup>1</sup> The evidence discussed below deals only with attendance at quarter sessions. Whether a different picture would emerge were it possible to assemble evidence for justices' activity in their many other judicial and administrative duties between quarter sessions it is impossible to say.

<sup>2</sup> E 137 for Norfolk and Sussex; DL 50 for Lancashire.

<sup>3</sup> E 372; in Lancashire it was the duchy receiver who claimed and his claim is to be found in the Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts, DL 29.

<sup>4</sup> E 101/589/5,6,7,8 for Sussex.

<sup>5</sup> For Norfolk, Norfolk County Council MS. Elizabethan Quarter Sessions Minute Book. I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. A. Hassell Smith who allowed me to consult his abstract of this MS. For Lancashire, Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records, ed. J. Tait (Chetham Society, N.S. lxxvii).

roll, or its Lancashire equivalent, comes near to covering the period, and the Lancashire record is very incomplete after 1561. All other classes of evidence are scrappy with the possible exception of the Norfolk quarter sessions minutes which cover 17 years spread representatively through Elizabeth's reign.<sup>1</sup> All these classes are defective in some way and reliance upon one source may result in a false picture.

In his analysis of the justices of the peace for Lancashire between 1529 and 1558, Mr. J.B. Watson argues that activity on the commission was generally limited to the lesser men, who needed the honour of being on the commission to enhance their social standing: 'Once a man was knighted,' Watson observes, 'he seldom seems to have bothered with quarter sessions.' As an example, he outlines the career of Henry Farrington who regularly attended quarter sessions before his knighthood in 1533 but attended only once thereafter, at Preston in October 1535. (He also suggests that 1535-1536 was an exceptional year, five knights putting in six attendances of the 25 recorded.) No longer in need of the prestige which sitting at quarter sessions conferred, a knighted justice of the peace spent his time on other important business, heading ad hoc commissions.<sup>2</sup> This explanation begs more questions than it solves. If activity at quarter sessions implied a lower social and economic status, and if attendance virtually ceased at knighthood, then knighthood must have conferred upon the recipient a standing which he did not already enjoy. Yet our own study has shown that, at least in the case of civil knighthoods, power,

---

<sup>1</sup> 4-10, 14-19, 25-28 Eliz.

<sup>2</sup> Watson, 96-97, 102, 149-50.

social status, and influence tended to precede the knighthood and were in some measure its cause rather than its effect, a view which Watson tends to agree with elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Men like Sir Henry Farrington, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Sir William Leyland did not suddenly achieve power and pre-eminence with their new titles, and Watson's explanation of their absence from sessions after their knighthoods does not ring true.

There is, in any case, only limited support from the evidence of other counties for his view that knights spent their time more exclusively on miscellaneous commissions, and none at all for his belief that knights seldom sat as justices of the peace. An examination of the evidence which Watson used will show why his conclusions, though plausible, are almost certainly wrong. His argument is based solely upon the evidence of the Duchy of Lancaster's ministers' accounts.<sup>2</sup> The receiver of the Duchy claimed, among his other allowances, the statutory four shillings per day which he had paid the justices of the peace, just as the sheriffs did for other counties of England. The receiver's account is even more detailed than the pipe roll, since it records not only the number of days for which a justice was paid in any year but also the sessions which he attended and the date upon which they were held. It appears, therefore, to give as comprehensive and detailed a record of attendances as a conscientiously kept quarter sessions register.

Appearances, however, prove to be deceptive. An account of proceedings at the sessions of the peace against Henry Seargeant and others held at

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 135.

<sup>2</sup> DL 29.

Preston on 9 April 1526 shows that eight justices sat, three knights, three esquires and two gentlemen, whereas the receiver's account lists only the two gentlemen, Matthew Standish and Bartholomew Hesketh for this venue and date.<sup>1</sup> If six men were omitted from the account on this occasion, the same thing may have occurred on others. Unfortunately, there is no other date in the century where independent evidence enables a similar check to be made. The ministers' accounts, which are continuous until the summer of 1561, have largely disappeared thereafter, only the rolls for 1571-2, 1580-1, 1586-7 and 1602-3<sup>2</sup> surviving and for none of these years has any other evidence come to light. Nevertheless, it seems that the conclusion drawn from the evidence of 1526 holds good for the latter part of the century. For example, a recognisance book of 1583-84 shows that four knights attended quarter sessions between Michaelmas 1583 and Michaelmas 1584<sup>3</sup> and that they made a total of seventeen appearances. Yet in none of the receivers' accounts for the reign of Elizabeth, including the one almost immediately before this year,<sup>4</sup> do the names of knights appear.

---

<sup>1</sup> DL 41/7/14; DL 29/122/1999. Both documents date the sessions as the Monday after the clause of easter, 18 Henry VIII, but there was no such Monday in 18 Henry VIII because easter day fell on the last day of this regnal year in 1527 and preceded its commencement in 1526. It seems that the clerk writing the report made the mistake which was copied by the duchy receiver. That 19 Henry VIII was not intended is clear for a number of reasons, not least being that the receiver's account for that year shows that Henry Farrington was at the Preston sessions for the easter meeting but is not listed among the justices in the account of the proceedings.

<sup>2</sup> DL 29/126/2033-6.

<sup>3</sup> The attendances for this year are to be found in a Recognisance Book at the Lancashire County Record Office. R.Sharpe France has listed them in Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, xcv (1943), 131-3.

<sup>4</sup> DL 29/126/2034 (Mich. 22 Eliz.- July 23 Eliz.)

Furthermore, while none of the receivers' accounts for the period 1559-1603 lists more than twenty-one names in any one year, the book of 1583-4 record lists forty, including the earl of Derby, Ferdinand lord Strange and William Chaderton, bishop of Chester. One would not expect to find such names in records dealing with payment for attendance, since only justices below the rank of banneret qualified for it, but the fact that the bishop and the earl both attended three sessions during the year throws further doubt upon Watson's argument that only the lesser men on the commission thought it consistent with their dignity to attend and upon the notion that membership of the commission by such superior persons was more honorary than real. Were 1583-4 the only year for which evidence of this kind could be found, one might well argue, as Watson did for the year 1535, that the large number of high-ranking people attending the sessions was a response to a particular local crisis and therefore exceptional. This is demonstrably not the case, however. The year 1583-4 was exceptional neither in the numbers nor in the quality of those attending quarter sessions, for in the latter part of the 1580's knights appear to have attended quite regularly, while the total number of justices present at individual sessions was, with one exception, well above the norm (two to three) of the ministers' accounts. A copy of an indictment at the Ormskirk quarter session of July 1586<sup>1</sup> shows that the case was held before seven justices, two knights and five esquires, yet the duchy account for the year immediately following records the presence only of two or three

---

<sup>1</sup> Lancashire Record Office, Hesketh MSS. 59/60.

non-knights at each session.<sup>1</sup> For the next year, 1588, three quarter sessions are recorded on a quarter sessions roll and at these three knights made a total of four appearances, the number of justices of all ranks present at the three sessions being twelve, nine and three, in that order; and the only session recorded for 1589 saw eight justices, including one knight, present.<sup>2</sup> The minister's account for 1586-7 is thus sandwiched between evidence painting a different picture and one must conclude that it is not a comprehensive list of active justices for that year.

The evidence is most extensive for the 1590's, the quarter sessions rolls surviving for the periods late 1590-2 and 1601-2, and estreats for the years 1595-6 and 1599-1600.<sup>3</sup> These records tell a story similar to that built up from the scantier material of the 1580's and the sole piece of earlier evidence. Of the 91 sessions thus covered, rather more than half (53) had attendances of more than seven justices, while at only eight quarter sessions did fewer than four justices attend.<sup>4</sup> Six knights attended the recorded sessions of the 1590's, a reasonable enough number when it is remembered that several Lancashire knights were not on the commission, suspect religious sympathies being the main reason, and that

<sup>1</sup> DL 29/126/2035 (Oct. 1586-July 1587).

<sup>2</sup> Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records, ed. J. Tait (Chetham Society, N.S. lxxvii), 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 15-162; DL 50/5/2,7,9,11,12.

<sup>4</sup> These low attendances were all at the Lancaster sessions and are to be explained by the discovery, made from an analysis of the estreats of the 1590's, that justices were following the 'limit' system; only five of the 44 justices recorded sat at more than one of the four towns at which sessions were held.

others, even when included, had major interests elsewhere. Sir John Byron, it was reported in 1592, was 'out of this countre and dwelleth in Nottinghamshire,' and appears to have left the administration of his Lancashire estates to his son John, who attended quarter sessions in 1599 and 1600.<sup>1</sup> Sir Gilbert Gerard of Astley had made Gerards Bromley in Staffordshire his principal seat and both he and his son were involved in court duties.<sup>2</sup> Warren, Fitton and Leigh were primarily Cheshire gentlemen.<sup>3</sup>

The knights who were truly available were reasonably active justices of the peace, although Sir Richard Molyneux (after 1595), and Sir Richard Shirburne (after easter 1592) do not appear to have been zealous. Molyneux may have felt that he needed a rest after his continuous attendance at every session while he was custos rotulorum, or he may have been piqued at losing his position, or he may have been ill for a time. Likewise, Sir Richard Shirburne consistently attended the Preston sessions until easter 1592 and then his name disappears from the record for the rest of the year. Shirburne had long been suspect on religious grounds and in 1588 there were added accusations of incest, adultery, levying too much military taxation and refusing to lend money to the queen,<sup>4</sup> so that he may well have been

---

<sup>1</sup> Royal MS. 18D III f. 80b; DL 50/5/7; DL 50/5/12.

<sup>2</sup> G.E.C. v. 635; Watson, 315-6.

<sup>3</sup> R. Glover, The Visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580, ed. J.P. Rylands, 150, 242-3; W. Beamont, History of the House of Lyme, 113-114.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.P. Dom. 1591-4, 159. This document is tentatively dated 1591 by the editor. There is internal evidence to suggest that the accusations were made in 1588, for the charges of extortionate taxation are limited to that year. The date 1588 seems likely also in view of the previous document which contains the names of Sir John Radcliffe, who died in 1589, and Sir Thomas Hesketh, who died in 1588, and a note in this paper appears to refer to the detailed charges made against Shirburne in the next document.

(Cont. on next page)

temporarily removed from the commission in 1592. If so, he soon recovered his place, for he was among the Lancashire justices who took the oath at a special summons called for that purpose in November 1592.<sup>1</sup> He may simply have been ill, for he was advanced in years and was to die in 1594. Only the recently-knighted Sir Nicholas Moseley sat in 1601, but Sir Cuthbert Halsall was sheriff for that year and was thus ineligible. The absence of Sir Richard Houghton is something of a mystery, since he put in four attendances in 1600 and 1602. By October he was probably too busy to attend because the sessions coincided with his election to parliament as knight of the shire.<sup>2</sup>

That there were non-knights with records as good as, and sometimes better than, knights does not affect the contention that the knights, as a group, played their part as industriously as esquires and gentlemen. Indeed, in the cases of Nicholas Moseley and Richard Houghton knighthood produced a greater diligence in attendance, rather than a falling away, which Watson believed to be the pattern. The unknighthood Houghton did not attend the recorded sessions for 1591 and made only one appearance at those

---

The relevant parts of this document, calendared only briefly in C.S.P.Dom., are printed in some detail in T.E. Gibson, Lydiat Hall, 257-258, although he, in common with Watson and others, accepts the date 1591 without even the reservations of the editor of C.S.P. Dom. Possibly the documents were left with those of 1591 after having been used by the council in that year. If so, it is just possible that Shirburne was proceeded against shortly after and removed from the commission for a short time.

<sup>1</sup> Royal MS. 18D III, f. 80b. The reason for calling the sessions is found in a letter printed in The Lancashire Lieutenancy, ed. J. Harland, ii (Chetham Soc. 1), 232.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. Rets.



of 1592 (for which year the records are complete). In 1595-6 he again attended only one session, but after his knighthood in June 1599 and his return to the commission after his term as sheriff, he attended four times in 1600 and four in 1602.<sup>1</sup>

The duchy ministers' accounts are therefore a poor guide to attendance at quarter sessions. Knights were often active members of the commission of the peace and many more attended sessions than the receiver either registered or, it appears, paid. It is easier to show that the accounts are an unreliable guide than it is to explain why this should have been so.

It was not because insufficient money had been levied in fines.<sup>2</sup> If those levied in 1599 and 1600<sup>3</sup> were typical, there was sufficient money to pay the wages of all who attended and more besides, provided wages could be paid from the whole years' fines and not simply from those levied at the session which a justice attended. Even then, only five of the 16 sessions covered by the estreats did not yield sufficient money in fines to pay the justices sitting. Of the remaining 11 sessions, ten had five or more justices present, numbers far in excess of those paid, or at least normally recorded, by the duchy receivers.

---

<sup>1</sup> Tait, *op. cit.* 15-162; DL 29/5/2,7,9,11,12; C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 222; Somerville, i.464.

<sup>2</sup> R. Somerville, 'Lancashire Justices of the Peace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cii (1950), 186, found some evidence of this practice in 1438-39. It had become standard practice by the 17th century: Proceedings in Quarter Sessions, 1674-1682, ed. H.C. Johnson (Warwick County Records, viii), p. xl.

<sup>3</sup> DL 50/5/7,9,11,12.

It is possible that the more important justices did not claim their wages. Lancashire knights may have considered it beneath their dignity and socially ambitious squires may have followed suit. A gradual development of this convention would explain both why knights figure occasionally in the payments earlier in the century and also why the annual claim in Elizabeth's reign was generally lower than that of the previous reigns.<sup>1</sup> Some time between 1586 and 1603 it ceased altogether, the receiver thenceforth claiming no allowances for justices' wages on the grounds that the justices were paying themselves.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the Lancashire justices had such a different set of values from their peers in other counties who accepted their allowances (in some cases fraudulently<sup>3</sup>) without demur. Perhaps by the seventeenth century the justices and receiver had worked out some kind of concealed payment.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever the practice was after 1602, it is clear that before that date the receiver normally paid two, three and occasionally four justices per session and if the evidence of 1526 is typical he paid from the bottom of the social ladder upwards: three knights, three esquires and two gentlemen attended the session held at Preston yet only the two

---

<sup>1</sup> Claims for between 15 and 21 attendances were made in Elizabeth's reign: DL 29/126/2031-2035. Earlier, claims for about 40 were more usual, e.g. DL 29/123/2008.

<sup>2</sup> DL 29/126/2035 for 1586/7; DL 29/126/2036 for 1602/3. The relevant passage is: 'Eo quod dict dict Justic persolut fuit per dictos Justiciar et non per Receptor.'

<sup>3</sup> *V.C.H. Wilts.* v. 90; S. & B. Webb, *English Local Government*, i. 423.

<sup>4</sup> Somerville, *loc. cit.* put this construction upon the new arrangements.

gentlemen are found on the receiver's account.<sup>1</sup> It may be, therefore, that the inclusion of a knight or two in the earlier Tudor accounts indicates poorly-attended, rather than (as Watson maintains), well-attended sessions, and that knights only qualified for the limited payments when there were few, or no, mere gentlemen to claim the allowance. Such a practice would explain why only one gentleman, Bartholomew Hesketh, received payment for his attendance at the Eccleston session of 5 November 1535;<sup>2</sup> to have paid one or two, but not all, of the esquires present might have caused dissension and so, either voluntarily or compulsorily they forewent payment. If such a convention prevailed it is clear that however faithfully a knight attended quarter sessions his chances of appearing in the Duchy receiver's account were slim simply because low attendances, judging by the single piece of evidence from the reign of Henry VIII and the more copious records of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, were rare. Whatever the explanation, knights attended quarter sessions in Lancashire far more regularly than the receivers' accounts suggest. There were unknighthed justices who sat more frequently - a small group of 9 men averaged roughly three attendances per year<sup>3</sup> - but the knights were at least as diligent as the majority of their unknighthed brethren.

This is the conclusion which one would expect unless Lancashire is to

---

<sup>1</sup> DL 41/7/14; DL 29/122/1990.

<sup>2</sup> DL 29/123/2007.

<sup>3</sup> James Anderton, Richard Ashton, James Ashton, James Calvert, Edmund Fleetwood, Edmund Hopwood, Roger Nowell, Edward Rigby, John Wrightington.

be thought of as out of line with other counties, for the Sussex and Norfolk pipe rolls reveal that knights were active justices. The pipe roll figures present some problems, however. The few surviving estreats do not always tally with the pipe,<sup>1</sup> and in some cases it appears that the pipe roll attendances have been manipulated, not upwards (as was later to be the case),<sup>2</sup> but downwards, probably because sheriffs were aware that the exchequer would allow for wages no more than the amount levied in fines and amercements. Between 1576 and 1603 only one sheriff of Norfolk or Sussex was bold enough to challenge the custom and he was unsuccessful.<sup>3</sup> During these years thirteen sheriffs claimed wages equal to the sum levied in fines<sup>4</sup> and the Norfolk estreats for 1594-5 reveal that the sheriff had reduced the attendance of 11 justices by 37 days in order to

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, E 137/41/1, rr. 3-6b, cf. 372/404 (Sussex, John Ashburnham's account); E 137/41/1, rr. 7-8, cf. E 372/418 (Sussex); E 137/33/3, cf. E 372/440 (Norfolk).

<sup>2</sup> S. & B. Webb, *op. cit.* 423; *V.C.H. Wilts.* v. 90. But on 4 occasions Sussex sheriffs claimed attendances in multiples of two: E 372/433, 441, 444, 446.

<sup>3</sup> E 372/445 (Norfolk). Days claimed amounted to £69.14.0 but only £58.10.0 (the total collected in fines), was allowed. Cf. *Proceedings in Quarter Sessions* (Warwick County Records, viii), p. xl.

<sup>4</sup> E 372/432, 437, 439, 440, 441, 442, 444, 446, for Sussex.  
E 372/431, 439, 440, 443, 444, for Norfolk.  
To these should probably be added E 372/421 (for Norfolk), where the amount in fines levied exceeds the wages claimed by less than another day's wages. In six of the above Sussex accounts (432, 440, 441, 442, 444, 446) the sum stipulated as having been paid in wages is less than the total fines and amercements. In all cases a clerical omission is to blame for both wages and fines are divided in two - money paid by the county and money paid by the liberties. The money from the liberties is absent in each case from the wages alleged to have been paid, and when it is added, the wages paid equal both the days claimed for and the fines collected.

achieve this equation.<sup>1</sup> When reductions of this sort took place, however, knights were not the only ones to suffer, and none was eliminated. Fortunately, in the majority of cases, fines exceeded wages claimed and here the pipe roll figures are probably accurate.

Even so, they need careful interpretation, especially in Norfolk. After the 1560's, justices normally attended only the quarter session or its adjournment within their 'limit'. Early in Elizabeth's reign, as Dr. Hassell Smith has shown, the sessions at Norwich lasted two days, with one-day adjournments at King's Lynn or Swaffham and Walsingham.<sup>2</sup> The estreats for 1594-5 show that by this time quarter sessions lasted four days at Norwich, two at King's Lynn and one or two at Holt.<sup>3</sup> As a result, any appraisal of a justice's activity which is based on the pipe's record of days attended is likely to be misleading. Table 22 demonstrates what a difference a justice's place of attendance could make: Thomas Hewar sat faithfully at King's Lynn or Swaffham, but judged by the number of days attended he would appear to have been far less faithful than Sir Arthur Heveningham.

The Sussex figures are easier to handle. As in Norfolk and Lancashire, a limit system operated but since the sessions were of equal length, this presents no problems, a justice having more than three days recorded exhibiting rare energy.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> E 372/440; E 137/33/3.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, 109-10.

<sup>3</sup> E 137/33/3. Six justices strayed from their territory in this year.

<sup>4</sup> E 137/45/1,2. Sessions were held in the east and west with sometimes a common July meeting. For Lancashire, DL 50/5/2,7,9,11,12. Only 5 Lancastrians were not generally observing limits.

Table 22

<u>Sessions attended</u>		<u>Days attended</u>	
1. Dru Drury, k.	12	Dru Drury, k.	30 1.
2. Nath. Bacon	8	Nath Bacon	22 2.
3. Jn. Pargrave	8	Jn. Pargrave	22 3.
4. Wm. Rugge	5	Arth. Heveningham, k.	15 4.
5. Jn. Peyton, k.	4	Hy. Gawdy	15 4.
5. Greg. Pratt	4	Wm. Blennerhassett	15 4.
5. Tho. Hewar	4	Miles Corbett	15 4.
5. Anth. Deathe	4	Wm. Rugge	14 8.
5. Arth. Heveningham, k.	4	Hy. Doyle	12 9.
5. Hy. Gawdy	4	Rob. Houghton	11 10.
5. Wm. Blennerhassett	4	Hy. Hobart	11 10.
5. Miles Corbett	4	Jn. Peyton, k.	10 12.
13. Hy. Doyle	3	Rob. Southwell, k.	10 12.
13. Rob. Houghton	3	Rob. Mansell	9 14.
13. Hy. Hobart	3	Greg. Pratt	8 15.
13. Rob. Mansell	3	Tho. Hewar	8 15.
13. Rob. Southwell, k.	3	Anth. Deathe	8 15.
13. Humph. Guybon	3	Jas. Scambler	7 18.
13. Clem. Spelman	3	Pet/Edw Everard	7 18.
13. Edm. Moundford	3	Pet/Edw Bartlett	7 18.
21. Jas. Scambler	2	Humph. Guybon	6 21.
21. Pet/Edw Everard	2	Clem. Spelman	6 21.
21. Pet/Edw Bartlett	2	Edm. Mondford	6 21.

24 - 36 include Wm Paston, k., and Edward Clere, k., and 11 non-knights.

This table is based on the estreats for Norfolk for 37 Eliz., E 137/33/3.

Where possible, therefore, two criteria have been used in measuring a justice's activity: the number of sessions he attended in a year and the consistency of his attendance year by year. The results of the investigation support neither Mr. Watson's claim that knights were mostly inactive members of the commission nor the notion that knightly obligation constrained knights to faithful attendance. Occasionally, it is true, a knighthood appears to have spurred on its recipient to greater service. Sir Dru Drury's attendances at Norfolk sessions increased in number and regularity after he was knighted, even in the four years before he became custos rolutorum.<sup>1</sup> Three other knights with good records, Sir Edward Clere, Sir Arthur Heveningham and Sir Thomas Townshend, were not members of the commission until they were dubbed so that it is impossible to measure the effect of the honour upon their faithfulness.<sup>2</sup> It did have some effect on Sir William Shelley, who had easily the best record of activity of any justice in Tudor Sussex; having sat only once a year before his knighthood, he sat more than twice yearly in 12 of the 16 subsequent years.

Shelley and Drury are, however, exceptions. Generally, patterns of attendance established before knighthood were not much affected by it.

<sup>1</sup> Appointed in 1583: Smith, 42.

<sup>2</sup> Clere did not become a j.p. until 1583, although he was knighted in 1578 and was sheriff in 1567 and 1580: Royal MS. 18 D III, f. 39; Shaw, ii. 79; P.R.O. Sheriffs. Smith, 205, suggests a reason for his exclusion. Heveningham had previously only sat in Suffolk: Smith, 153.

In the 44 years ending 1560, when attendances of more than two days a year by any justice in Sussex were rare, and no justice attended every year he was on the commission, a group of six knights more than once attended on 3 days a year; an equal group of unknighthed heads of knightly families, and a group of 17 members of non-knightly families, had similar achievements. By contrast, 15 knights were less active than this while at least one was never on the commission. Only three of this group never attended at all, however, and the remaining 12 have records similar to those of the non-knights who do not qualify for the active group.

The evidence from Elizabeth's reign is similar: three knights, Sir John Caryll, Sir Thomas Palmer of Angmering and Sir Thomas Shirley junior, were never on the commission, but the remaining few were mostly active. The glaring exception was Sir Thomas Shirley senior, who did not attend a single recorded session between 1578 and 1597. Why he did not attend up to 1585 is not clear, but thenceforth he was engaged in national affairs and was often out of the country. He managed to attend 10 sessions between 1598 and 1600 but by 1601 he had been removed from the commission in debt and disgrace.<sup>1</sup> With so few knights available in Elizabethan Sussex, a valid comparison of their activity with the non-knights is not possible. Certainly there were non-knights with better records, although the activity of Sir John Pelham and Sir Nicholas Parker was equal to that of most of these, while there were non-knights who were as dilatory as the most dilatory knight: in 1578, for example, nine of the 31 resident

---

<sup>1</sup> D.W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant, 9, 16-24, 41-46; Mauseley, 736-7; E 372/444-6; C 66/1549.



justices did not attend a session, and only one of them, Sir Thomas Shirley, was a knight.<sup>1</sup>

The knights of Norfolk were rather more diligent. In the first 12 years of Elizabeth's reign, indeed, they may well have dominated proceedings, only William Yelverton having a better record than a group of five knights.<sup>2</sup> Even during this period, however, Sir Henry Doyley was never on the commission, Sir Thomas Tyndall and Sir Thomas Lovell did not sit after 1563<sup>3</sup> and Sir Thomas Knyvett sat in only three years. For the rest of the reign, while some knights were very active, they were probably no more diligent than William Rugge, John Pargrave, Thomas Hogan and Henry Gawdy, while a further group of nine unknighthed gentlemen also worked hard.<sup>4</sup> The only knight with a really poor record during this period was Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe. Knighted in 1578, and a member of the commission quite consistently for the rest of the reign, he attended quarter sessions only in 1590.<sup>5</sup> His negligence was equalled by Sir Henry Woodhouse's in the years after 1594 and Sir John Peyton's after 1598 but both men had sat faithfully for many years before.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> SP 12/104, f. 30; E 372/422. Similar figures for Kent, 1601-4, are given in J.H. Gleason, The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640, 104-5.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Wyndham, Christopher Heydon, Nicholas Lestrangle, William Buttes, Thomas Woodhouse.

<sup>3</sup> They may have been removed after an adverse report on their religious views: 'A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564', ed. M. Bateson, Camden Miscellany, ix. 58-59.

<sup>4</sup> Humphrey Guybon, Henry Yelverton, Wymond Carey, Clement Spellman, Gregory Pratt, Henry Hobart, Anthony Deathe, Edward Bartlett, and Robert Houghton.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw, ii. 79; SP 12/145, f. 30b; Royal MS. 18 D III, f. 39; Lansd. MS. 737, f. 150; SP 13/Case F/11, f. 25; C 66/1549; E 372/435.

<sup>6</sup> E 372/419-448.

The picture which emerges from this study of attendances, then, is of two groups of justices: a diligent one composed of both knights and non-knights, and a less faithful band of similar composition. A mixture of enthusiasm, interest, ambition, and a legal education explains the consistent attendances of some knights better than a presumed sense of knightly obligation, while on the other hand those who stayed away did not do so because the service was uncommensurate with their dignity.

## Chapter VIII

### Servants of the Crown (ii)

The number of justices of the peace required in the sixteenth century even by a conservative government to some extent militated against knights' monopolizing the bench, but such a factor did not operate in relation to the shrievalty, for only one sheriff was needed for each county and in some instances counties shared a sheriff. In addition, the ancient office had originally been of a military as well as of a judicial nature. Despite these apparent advantages, only 45 per cent of the 275 known sheriffs of Lancashire, Norfolk and Sussex between the years 1500 and 1599 were knights at the time of their appointment,<sup>1</sup> and only rarely was a sheriff knighted during or immediately after his term of office: when it chose an esquire, the government felt no obligation to knight him. Until 1560, it is true, the knightage provided the majority of these sheriffs - 90 knights to 64 non-knights - but the decade 1560 to 1569 witnessed a reversal in the ratio, and knighted sheriffs remained the minority until the end of the century, only 34 knights as opposed to 88 non-knights being selected from 1560 to 1599.

---

<sup>1</sup> See tables 23 and 24, pp. 269-70.

Table 25

Numbers of knights and non knights  
selected as sheriffs for Norfolk  
and Sussex, 1400-1609.

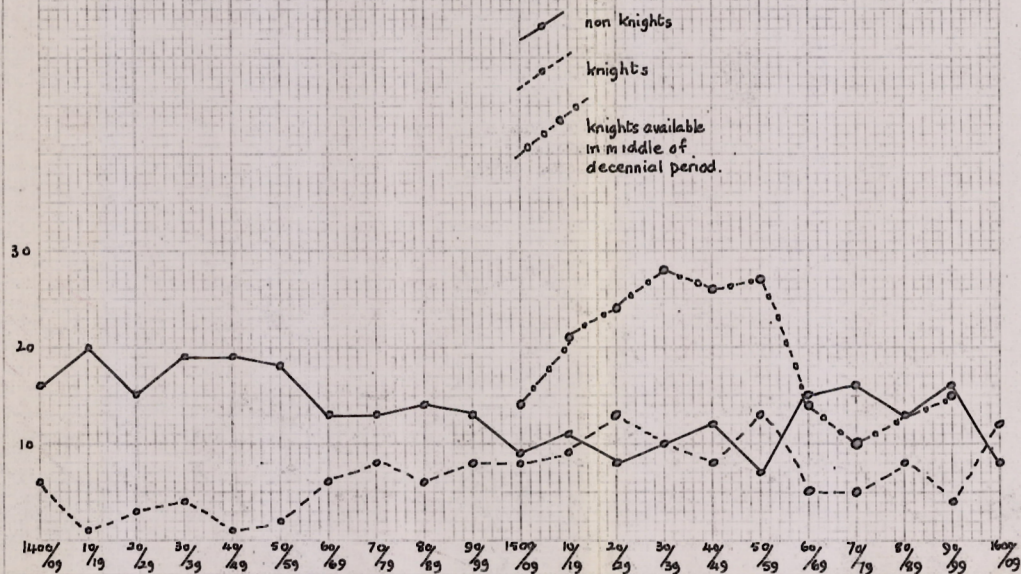
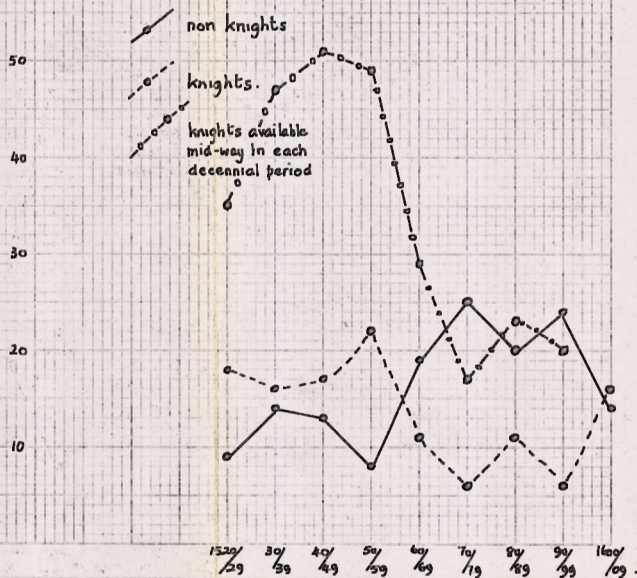


Table 24

Numbers of knights and non knights  
selected as sheriffs for Norfolk  
Sussex and Lancashire, 1520-1609.



This reversal needs explaining. It cannot be argued that as the office declined in importance so did the social status of its holder, for the change was so sudden and so late. Most commentators agree that the office was in decline from the fifteenth century,<sup>1</sup> and although the decennial ratios of knights to non-knights holding the office from 1400 to 1459 seem to reflect this, the gradual increase in the number of knighted sheriffs from 1460 to 1559 does not. Indeed, if the number of knighted sheriffs is an index of the importance of the office, it would be necessary to modify the prevailing view and to contend that the office enjoyed a revival under the early Tudors. An alternative explanation fits the facts more easily. The rising curve in the number of knighted sheriffs resembles that of the number of knights available and it is reasonable to infer that the one is a consequence of the other. A similar correspondence obtains in the latter part of the sixteenth century when the government's choice was further restricted by religious considerations, although the government seems to have been less averse to Catholic sympathizers' becoming sheriffs than to their becoming, or remaining, justices of the peace.<sup>2</sup> The explanation is confirmed by the figures for the period 1600 to 1619 when, for the first time in 50 years knights held the office in our three counties more often than esquires, largely as a consequence of James I's lavish knightings at the beginning of his reign.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Tudor Constitution, ed. G.R. Elton, 451, is the most recent of these.

<sup>2</sup> R.B. Manning, 'Catholics and local office holding in Elizabethan Sussex', B.I.H.R. xxxv (1962), 51-61.

The fact that more knights were chosen when more knights were available could mean that the government preferred knights to hold the office. But that preference can have been but slight. In Norfolk there were never fewer than five knights available, and for the greater part of the century many more, yet knights were by no means habitually in office. On the contrary, some knights in our three counties never became sheriffs, or had been sheriffs long enough before they were knighted for the two events to have had little connexion. Nor can it be argued that some knights did not become sheriffs because they were passed over in the time of plenty: between 1509 and 1547 England never had more than twenty knighted sheriffs in a year and the average was nearer fourteen, and this at a time when the number of knights available was climbing to over 500. Even when their numbers had declined knights were not overworked. The sheriffs' rolls for Norfolk and Sussex for 1592-1602<sup>1</sup> show that on five occasions non-knights were preferred to knights and only on three was the opposite true, a faithful reflection of the national picture. In the last nine years of Elizabeth's reign, between 13 and 22 knights per year appear in the sheriffs' rolls for the whole country,<sup>2</sup> and because some of them were candidates for the same shrievalty, it was possible for England to have only between 11 and 18 knighted sheriffs in any of these years, a small enough figure when it is remembered that there were between two and three hundred knights available. Even so these figures are large compared with the numbers actually chosen: in 1599 no knights at all were pricked, and

---

<sup>1</sup> C 227/11a, 13, 14, 15a, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

the largest number pricked was eight. The twin facts that so few knights found their way on to the roll, and that of these less than half were pricked must mean that knighthood was of little account in the choice of sheriffs.

Whether that choice tells us anything about the prevailing view of knighthood, or even about the qualities desired in a sheriff, is a different matter. The theme of the reluctant sheriff is not an unfamiliar one. Often unprofitable and stripped of its medieval power, the office was burdensome and unwanted in the seventeenth century,<sup>1</sup> and to be appointed sheriff sometimes filled Elizabethan gentlemen with dismay also. The absence of knights from the sheriffs' rolls might therefore represent their superior ability in evading the hazard. Sir Roger Woodhouse was left out of the Norfolk bill 'by his owne earnest sute' in 1580,<sup>2</sup> and in 1582 at least five men successfully avoided the office: Roger Manners was able to write that his cousin, Francis Leak, had 'by means escaped,'<sup>3</sup> while letters to Burghley appear to have been sufficient for Sir William Malory, Sir John Spencer and Cotton Gargrave to be spared.<sup>4</sup> Herbert Pelham of Bucksted tried a more unusual device in the same year, claiming that as a resident of the Cinque Ports he was exempt from appointment as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex.<sup>5</sup> These efforts did not meet with unqualified success.

---

<sup>1</sup> W.B. Willcox, Gloucestershire, 1590-1640, 39; C.H. Karraker, The Seventeenth Century Sheriff, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, 84.

<sup>3</sup> H.M.C. 12th Report, App. iv. 145.

<sup>4</sup> H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. ii. 524, 530.

<sup>5</sup> Mauseley, 662.



Spencer and Gargrave were pricked for their respective counties in the next year and Gargrave was knighted, either in recompense or to urge the duty upon him.<sup>1</sup> Pelham's ingenious excuse gained him a longer respite (he did not become sheriff until 1590), but it also cost him a month in the Marshalsea and an uncomfortable interview with the privy council.<sup>2</sup>

What some men sought to avoid, others sought to have. Dr. Hassell Smith has shown that in Norfolk there was keen competition for the office in time of faction. In 1601 Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy managed to have his name added to the original list of three and was pricked.<sup>3</sup> Similar motives may have prompted Philip Jermey to follow the court 'day and night' in order to gain the shrievalty of Suffolk in 1587,<sup>4</sup> but even in non-factious Sussex<sup>5</sup> names were added to the original list of three, and pricked, in 1597 and 1598, as they had been also in Kent and Yorkshire in 1595.<sup>6</sup> The office was profitable and influential<sup>7</sup> and the desire to have it may have been more widespread than Dr. Smith imagined. In any case, competition was sufficient to keep some willing men out of office. In 1593 Philip Gawdy was happily noting that Sir Arthur Heveningham's

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O. Sheriffs; Shaw, ii. 83 gives 1585 as the year of his knighthood, but calls him sheriff, an office which he ceased to hold in November 1584.

<sup>2</sup> Mauseley, 662.

<sup>3</sup> C 227/19.

<sup>4</sup> Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, 1579-1616, ed. I.H. Jeayes, 23, 26, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Mauseley, 276.

<sup>6</sup> C 227/15a, 16; P.R.O. Sheriffs, p. viii.

<sup>7</sup> C.J. Black, The Administration and Parliamentary Representation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1966), chapter II.

conspicuous distribution of largesse had failed to do the trick and, in fact, he was to fail on several occasions in the next ten years, as was his friend Sir William Paston who appeared unsuccessfully in every sheriffs' roll between 1597 and 1601.<sup>1</sup>

The failure of these two importunate knights again shows that there were factors more important than degree in the making of a sheriff. But it would be unwise to conclude that the council had lost control of appointments and no longer considered a man's fitness for the post. Court connexions were an important factor earlier in the century, as Dr. Black's study of early Tudor Nottinghamshire has shown,<sup>2</sup> but such men may have been chosen because their qualities were well-known to the council. Some may have been eager for the office, others probably had to be pressed into unwilling service, but there is little to indicate that the council was so swayed by voices and gifts that it selected men whom it considered unqualified for the task. Indeed, Burghley was exercised over the quality of candidates in 1595,<sup>3</sup> and the additions to the sheriffs' roll for that year may reflect this anxiety rather than the workings of the patronage system.

Thus it appears that the pricked lists are a reasonably accurate guide

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, 83, 312; C 227/15a-19.

<sup>2</sup> C.J. Black, *The administration and parliamentary representation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1529-1558* (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1966), 115-17. In Lancashire, the sheriff was the nominee of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: Somerville, i. 325.

<sup>3</sup> E.P. Cheyney, *A History of England from defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth*, ii. 355-6.

to the Tudor conception of the qualities needed in a sheriff. What appears to have mattered was not that a man was a knight but that he possessed sufficient standing, competence, loyalty and enthusiasm, although the last quality could be stimulated if necessary. It is not surprising, therefore, that although sheriffs were by no means all knights, they came more often than not from the knightly families, simply because such families generally possessed these qualities. Only one member of a non-knightly family was made sheriff of Lancashire before 1558 and only eight after, and while the figures for Norfolk and Sussex are a little higher, members of non-knightly families were certainly the exception rather than the rule. In these three counties, members of knightly families held the office 176 times while members of non-knightly families were pricked only 46 times. Only 30 of the 112 knightly families of the three counties failed to produce a sheriff during the century, and 23 of these were the less important families possessed of only one knighthood.

There were exceptions. The Boleyns of Blickling, with four knights, produced no sheriff, while two heads of the Newtimber branch of the Bellingham family, a non-knightly family, held the office four times between them.<sup>1</sup> Family traditions obviously counted for something. Such traditions were easier to build, or less easy to avoid, in a single shrievalty like Lancashire than in the double shrievalty of Surrey and Sussex or in Norfolk, which had a common sheriff with Suffolk until 1574. Thus, while in Lancashire eight families with only one knight each did not

---

<sup>1</sup> Comber, Lewes, 7-14.

produce a sheriff during the century,<sup>1</sup> four more of the same category held the office 15 times between them,<sup>2</sup> the Hollands of Denton holding the office five times, second only to the oft-knighted Traffords, who held it seven times. Richard Holland, not a knight, was sheriff four times between 1571 and 1595, a record equal to that of Sir Edmund Trafford between 1564 and 1583 and Sir Alexander Radcliffe between 1523 and 1546. The same pattern obtained in Sussex: four members of the Covert family had been sheriff before the fourth, Walter, gained the family's first knighthood of the century in 1591 before becoming sheriff yet again. The Shirleys of Wiston produced four sheriffs, as did the Oxenbridges and the Sackvilles, the last before any member of the family had been dubbed. Norfolk families producing four or more sheriffs were much better established in the order of knighthood, the Heydons producing six sheriffs, all of them knights, and the Heveninghams, Pastons, and Sheltons four each.

Family tradition, influence at court either to get or to avoid the office, wealth, competence, possibly military ability, religious loyalties - these were all factors in the making of a Tudor sheriff. Knighthood was not. Whatever conception of knightly duties existed, the responsibility to undertake the duties of sheriff formed scant part of it.

---

<sup>1</sup> Booth of Barton; Bradshaw of Haigh; Brereton of Worsely; Carus of Kirkby; Langley of Agecroft; Standish of Standish; Stanley of Cross Hall; Stanley of Winwick.

<sup>2</sup> Aston of Middleton; Holland of Denton; Langton of Newton; Talbot of Bashall.

The only office in local government which was virtually monopolized by knights was that of deputy lieutenant.<sup>1</sup> Towards the middle of the century the sheriff began to lose what military functions he still possessed in the Tudor attempt to provide for the more effective defence of the realm. Lords lieutenant, usually major noblemen,<sup>2</sup> were appointed to oversee the military arrangements of one or more counties, and since they could not carry out their duties single-handed, deputy lieutenants were appointed to help them. Resident within the county and appointed only for one county,<sup>3</sup> they were able, because of the duties entrusted to them, to wield considerable influence. Their intimate knowledge of the county musters often made them indispensable to their superior, who might, in the words of Dr. Boynton, be 'putty in their hands.'<sup>4</sup> Their power was such that those of Dorset flatly refused the council's orders on one occasion,<sup>5</sup> while those of Wiltshire and Somerset in the early seventeenth century were able to defeat the reforming measures of their lord lieutenant, the earl of Hertford.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, they owed their positions to the authority

---

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the information in this section comes from G. Scott Thomson, Lords Lieutenant in the Sixteenth Century, especially pages 60-83.

<sup>2</sup> For exceptions, see below, p.291.

<sup>3</sup> There is at least one exception: Sir Thomas Cecil, deputy lieutenant in Northants and Lincs, 1587: H.M.C. Foljambe, 25.

<sup>4</sup> L. Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia, 177. A slip of the pen assigns lord Buckhurst and his deputies Palmer and Covert to Kent: it should, of course, be Sussex.

<sup>5</sup> In 1596 and 1597: J.C. Roberts, The Parliamentary Representation of Devon and Dorset, 1559-1601 (unpublished London M.A. thesis), 267.

<sup>6</sup> W.P.D. Murphy, The Earl of Hertford's Lieutenancy in Wiltshire and Somerset, 1601-1621 (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1963), chapters vi and vii.

of the lord lieutenant, for when, from time to time, a lord lieutenant died or his commission was allowed to lapse, his duties and those of his deputies were carried out by a commission comprising the sheriff, the former deputy lieutenants and certain justices of the peace,<sup>1</sup> and the power of the former deputies was thereby diluted. It is not surprising, therefore, that the position was often a coveted one,<sup>2</sup> although its duties, if properly carried out, were arduous<sup>3</sup> and increasingly thankless, so much so that there is evidence of reluctance to serve in early seventeenth-century Somerset.<sup>4</sup> Generally, however, the office was sought after rather than avoided.

To judge by their commissions, lords lieutenant could appoint their deputies. In fact, this power was circumscribed by a watchful council. Normally the council confirmed the lord lieutenant's choice, which he sometimes made with the aid of a short list drawn up by existing deputies and influential justices of the peace,<sup>5</sup> and a powerful lord lieutenant like the earl of Pembroke secured the appointment of his followers with

---

<sup>1</sup> Smith, 103-4; Musters, Beacons, Subsidies etc. of the County of Northampton, ed. J. Wake (Northants Record Society, iii), 34-35. The commission rarely consisted solely (as Miss Thomson thought) of the former deputies: G. Scott Thomson, 'The origin and growth of the office of deputy lieutenant', T.R.H.S. 4th ser. v. (1922), 166.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, 102-3.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson, loc. cit. 152-3, 158-63; Lancashire Lieutenancy, i & ii, ed. J. Harland (Chetham Society, xlix & l), *passim*, on the work carried out by Byron, Shirburne and Holland; Boynton, op. cit. 7, on Sir Edmund Bradnell, who spent more time on this work than any other service.

<sup>4</sup> Murphy, op. cit. 75, 82, 91.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 67-70; cf. Thomson, op. cit. 64.

comparative ease. But this was rather less than a completely free hand as Pembroke was to discover as the century drew to its close.<sup>1</sup> Others were aware of some limitation of their choice earlier. In 1585, the earl of Bedford's suggestions were not accepted in their entirety. Shortly before his death in that year he suggested that the county should be split into three divisions and two deputies appointed for each. The tenor of his note suggests that he realised that the council might reject his scheme, for he indicated which two of his six nominees he would appoint if only two were allowed.<sup>2</sup> A rough draft for 1585 among the state papers shows that the council accepted five of Bedford's nominees, only lord Edward Seymour being omitted,<sup>3</sup> and the principle of dividing the county into three seems to have been accepted, for the list of 1588 has six deputy lieutenants.<sup>4</sup> In other counties under Bedford's supervision, the council also appointed Bedford's nominees but not always with alacrity. While eventually accepting his nominees for Dorset,<sup>5</sup> it appears to have

<sup>1</sup> P. Williams, The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I, 123-4.

<sup>2</sup> SP 12/179, f. 117b.

<sup>3</sup> SP 12/149, f. 107.

<sup>4</sup> H.M.C. Foljambe, 25. The date of this list is given as 1588, not 1587 as in the calendar, because the deputy lieutenants for Norfolk include Sir Arthur Heveningham and Sir John Peyton but not Sir Thomas Knyvett. This change was not discussed by the council until 25 February 1588: A.P.C. 1587-88, 385. Furthermore, the list does not include Sir Henry Ashley of Dorset, who was still a deputy lieutenant in August 1588: SP 12/214, ff. 26 & 93. The deputy lieutenant for Derbyshire was John Manners of Haddon Hall, brother-in-law to the earl of Shrewesbury, lord lieutenant for the county. He is not to be confused with the John Manners whom Shaw records (ii. 85) as having been knighted in 1587, for he was only knighted in 1603: H.M.C. Rutland I, 259 et seq, 390, 394.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Horsey and George Trenchard, Esq: SP 12/149, f. 117b.

added one of its own, Sir Henry Ashley.<sup>1</sup> A later lord lieutenant of Dorset was to have his suggestions more radically modified. In 1589 the marquis of Winchester, wanting a replacement for Sir John Horsey, who had just died, sent the council a short list of candidates, not making the nomination himself. The council declined to make an appointment at all, instead urging him to use a number of men for the work, but without the title, of deputy lieutenant.<sup>2</sup> Thus although the council generally confirmed a lord lieutenant's choice, that confirmation was not automatic and the surviving lists of deputies reflect fairly accurately governmental thinking on the suitability of men for the office and of the importance of knighthood as a qualification.

Almost every deputy lieutenant was a knight on his appointment. In 1569, only five of the 21 listed were unknighthed;<sup>3</sup> in 1585, eight

---

<sup>1</sup> Bodl. Tanner MS. 241, f. 44b; SP 12/59, ff. 204-205b. The story of the appointment of these three men is not easy to unravel. These two MSS. are certainly correct, for all three men can be seen acting as deputy lieutenants in 1587 and 1588: SP 12/200, f. 75b; SP 12/214, ff. 26 & 93. The story is complicated by the existence of three other MSS. In one, Bedford nominated only Horsey and Trenchard: SP 12/149, f. 117b. The second contains all three names but with Ashley's crossed out, as if at some stage the council considered dropping its own nominee: SP 12/149, f. 107. The third omits Trenchard's name, as if at another stage the council decided to reject Bedford's nominee in favour of its own. Trenchard's omission may be simply the slip of the copyist's pen but the MS. is in other respects accurate and the omission of the name of a lord lieutenant for the counties of Devon, Cornwall and Dorset at a time when the earl of Bedford was dying or dead gives it a ring of authenticity: Harl. MS. 474, f. 68. It is possible that the council decided not to appoint the unknighthed Trenchard as Bedford died and changed its mind a few years later, for there is no evidence among the state papers for his acting as a deputy lieutenant before April 1587: SP 12/200, f. 75b. Absence of evidence is not good proof, however. He was knighted in 1588: Shaw ii. 87. Ashley remained a deputy until his death in 1589, the administration of his will being 8 Feb. 1589: *Somerset & Dorset Notes and Queries*, ii. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *A.P.C. 1589-90*, 36-37. (13 August 1589, not 1598 as Miss Scott Thomson has it in *T.R.H.S.* 4th ser. v (1922), 158)

<sup>3</sup> SP 12/59, ff. 190-191.



out of 46;<sup>1</sup> in 1588, 15 out of 68.<sup>2</sup> In 1596, in a small list of nine counties, all the deputy lieutenants were knights, and Burghley's short list for these counties includes but three esquires among a host of knights.<sup>3</sup> A list of men concerned with the organization of the defence of seven southern counties for the same year includes only two non-knights, both of them military men of repute.<sup>4</sup> Further defence arrangements for 1597 involving the appointment of 'superintendents' for certain counties

<sup>1</sup> SP 12/59, ff. 204-5b. C.S.P. Dom. 1547-80, 349, dates this paper 1569 but an inspection of the names included reveals that it was drawn up after 6 May 1585, when Anthony Thorrold of Lincs. was knighted. Historians have generally followed the editor of C.S.P. Dom. in his mistake: Thomson, op. cit. 62; Mauseley, 279; D.W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant, 8. It appears that none of this set of lieutenancy papers was actually written in 1569. The first, ff. 190-1, is an abstract from the commissions of 1569, probably made in 1585 to give guidance on the appointments of new lords lieutenant as the military situation was now threatening. Folios 200-3b and 206-7b are attempts at reconstruction using the list of 1569 as a basis and ff. 204-5b is the final result. Further evidence of this process of reconstruction is to be found among the state papers for 1585, SP 12/179, f. 109 listing the lord lieutenants of 1569 in one column with an attempt at reorganisation (not the finally accepted one), in a second column headed 1585. Folios 106-106b are a virtually complete list but omit the counties for which the earl of Bedford had been responsible. This list may therefore have been written before Bedford's recommendations were known or after he had died and before the council had decided what to do with his counties. The most complete lists for 1585, giving lords lieutenant as well as their deputies, are a copy made by Bassingbourne Gawdy: Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 241, ff. 44b-45, and Harl. MS. 474, ff. 68-69b, which differs from it in two respects: see p. 281, n.1.

<sup>2</sup> H.M.C. Foljambe, 25-26. Figures for the Welsh counties have been excluded. On the dating of this MS. p. 280, n.4.

<sup>3</sup> SP 12/253, f. 181.

<sup>4</sup> SP 12/261, f. 150. Capt. Price for Essex (formerly lieutenant-governor of Brill: SP 12/262, f. 320), Roger Williams for Dorset.

again saw the council favouring knights: 12 superintendents are named and only Captain Price of Essex (one of the two listed in 1596), was not a knight.<sup>1</sup> Evidence for individual counties at different dates tells the same story. All nine of the deputy lieutenants of Norfolk whom Dr. Smith has identified between 1559 and 1596 had been knighted before their appointment.<sup>2</sup> Three men were appointed deputy lieutenant of Sussex before they were knighted,<sup>3</sup> but not without good reason. Both the available knights were already deputy lieutenants in 1585 but they obviously needed aid. Sir Thomas Shirley was fighting in the Netherlands (and later fighting his creditors),<sup>4</sup> and the loyal and able Walter Covert was an obvious choice. He was soon joined by Nicholas Parker as the military situation became critical<sup>5</sup> and as Sir Thomas Palmer was tending to reside at Blackwall.<sup>6</sup> In any case, both Covert and Parker were soon

<sup>1</sup> SP 12/262, f. 320. Lord Cromwell for Norfolk was the only nobleman.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, 415.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Mouseley's table of deputy lieutenants for Sussex (p. 301) is inaccurate because she uses SP 12/59, ff. 204-205b for 1569 (see above, p. 282, n.1). This has led her to identify Sir Thomas Palmer of Parham as a deputy lieutenant. There is, in fact, no evidence of Sussex deputies before 1585. Dr. Mouseley's dating of Nicholas Parker's deputy lieutenancy to Dec. 1587 (p. 279) is to be preferred to the ~~latter~~ date given in her table (p. 301): H.M.C. Foljambe, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Davies, op. cit. 14-16, 185-192; Mouseley, 636-7.

<sup>5</sup> Appointed before 21 December 1587, Mouseley, 279.

<sup>6</sup> Mouseley, 637, following A.P.C. 1591, 91.

knighted.<sup>1</sup>

Lancashire appears at first sight exceptional. Between them the editors of the Lancashire lieutenancy papers and of the lord lieutenant of Lancashire's household books give the title of deputy lieutenant to sixteen men, eleven of them unknighthed, in their biographical notes.<sup>2</sup>

There is no way of telling how Canon Raines arrived at his conclusions, but Mr. Harland clearly misunderstood some of the evidence he was using.<sup>3</sup>

Only three men were actually named deputy lieutenants in the records

<sup>1</sup> In 1591: Shaw, ii. 88. The other unknighthed deputy, Thomas Pelham was not appointed until 1601 (Mauseley, 301), which did not leave much time for knighthood to be conferred. He was appointed because Sir Thomas Shirley was removed in disgrace. His son, also knighted, at war, was also out of favour. The only other resident knight, Sir Richard Lewhenor, was engaged in legal work and possibly non-resident, having been appointed a justice for certain Welsh counties: C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 415.

<sup>2</sup> The Lancashire Lieutenancy, i & ii, ed. J. Harland (Chetham Society xlix & l); The Stanley Papers, ii, ed. F.R. Raines (Chetham Society, xxxi).

<sup>3</sup> Two examples must suffice: i. 87,n95, where he notes that a list of muster commissioners 'were doubtless deputy lieutenants.' He heads his transcription of Harl. MS. 1926, ff. 71b-72 'A letter from Judges Clenche and Rhodes to the deputy lieutenants of Lancashire.' ii. 224. This again is an unwarranted assumption, for no heading or like form of address appears in the original which is concerned with the licensing of ale-house keepers. Sometimes Harland is simply careless: he says (ii. 232) that a letter is addressed to Sir Richard Shirburne and Richard Holland, esquire, 'and other deputy lieutenants.' The original (Harl. MS. 1926, f. 113) does not have this addition. Harland's confusion probably arises from the fact that often deputy lieutenants and justices of the peace worked together on the same tasks. Occasionally, however, a letter makes it clear that the justices are working under the supervision of the deputy lieutenant. See, for example, a certificate in which several men, previously noted as deputy lieutenants by Harland, are said to have sent the assessed monies they had collected to Sir John Byron, who was, as other letters show, the deputy lieutenant for the division in which they resided: ii. 162.

printed and this resembles more closely the practice of other counties as well as the picture of the Lancashire lieutenancy which emerges from other sources. In the national lists for both 1585 and 1588 only Sir John Byron and Sir Richard Shirburne are listed as the earl of Derby's deputies,<sup>1</sup> and when Burghley was thinking of replacements in 1595 his list still contained only these two men, Shirburne being noted as dead.<sup>2</sup> Earlier in the 1590's the earl of Derby's receiver general, the unknighthed Richard Holland, had acted as a deputy lieutenant. He appears to have been substituting for Sir John Byron in September 1590 when, with Shirburne, he directed the justices to be present at the musters.<sup>3</sup> This letter is reminiscent of others which Shirburne and Byron had written as deputy lieutenants in the 1580's and it indicates that he was performing the functions of a deputy. He was not named as such in the letter, however, a circumstance which gives rise to the suspicion that he may have been acting without a title, a course of action which the council had urged upon certain Dorset gentlemen.<sup>4</sup> As the earl of Derby's receiver general he had already been involved in lieutenancy matters;<sup>5</sup> and with Byron's giving more time to his Nottinghamshire estates<sup>6</sup> and possibly already

---

<sup>1</sup> SP 12/59, f. 204b; H.M.C. Foljambe, 25.

<sup>2</sup> SP 12/253, f. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1926, f. 105.

<sup>4</sup> A.P.C. 1589-90, 36-37.

<sup>5</sup> For example, in February 1590, Derby ordered the justices of Salford to pay the money they had assessed and collected for furnishing soldiers for Irish service to Richard Holland 'my Receaver generall': Harl. MS. 1926, ff. 103-103b. This was the job which Byron had previously done: see above, p. 284, n.3.

<sup>6</sup> He was living in Nottinghamshire in 1592: Royal MS. 18D III, f. 806.

running into financial difficulties,<sup>1</sup> and with Sir Richard Shirburne ageing and sometimes ill,<sup>2</sup> it would have been natural for Derby to turn to the trusted and experienced Holland. By May 1593 he was using the title, as well as performing the duties, of a deputy lieutenant.<sup>3</sup> That he was no more than a substitute for Byron seems clear from two facts. First, during the period when Holland was acting as a deputy lieutenant, Byron's name, previously so prominent in the lieutenancy papers, disappears. Second, in Burghley's paper of 1595, Holland is not listed as a deputy lieutenant but Byron is.<sup>4</sup> It is unlikely that Burghley was out of touch with the situation, for Shirburne's death was noted, a fact which makes Holland's absence from the third column of this paper in which Burghley has made short lists to fill vacancies in other counties all the more interesting. It may simply mean that the earl of Derby was one of those lords lieutenant who were permitted to make their own choice of deputies, or it may indicate that in Burghley's estimation Holland did not measure up to the post. Certainly, if the paper of 1595 is to be believed, Holland's tenure of office was brief.

Whatever the cause, it is clear that (Raines and Harland notwithstanding), the deputy lieutenants of Lancashire, in common with those of other counties, were few and usually knights. Of the small number throughout the country who were not knights on their appointment, hardly

---

<sup>1</sup> Raines, *op. cit.* 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 105.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1926, ff. 113, 115b.

<sup>4</sup> S.P. 12/258, f. 181.

any remained both unknighthed and deputy lieutenants for long. Of those who were unknighthed on the list of 1569, only Hugh Trevanion of Cornwall was not subsequently knighted, and he had been relieved of his duties before the next extant list was drawn up in 1585, although he did not die until 1588.<sup>1</sup> Only two of the unknighthed deputy lieutenants of 1585 were not knighted within the next decade and one of them, Thomas Trentham of Staffordshire, was no longer a deputy lieutenant in 1588.<sup>2</sup> And of the unknighthed deputies of 1588 only six had not been knighted before the accession of James I.<sup>3</sup>

Knighthood retained its importance even when the deputy lieutenancy was put into commission, a measure adopted especially in the 1590's. In Northamptonshire, for example, where the deputy lieutenants were all knights in 1586, the commission of eight appointed ten years later contained but one esquire.<sup>4</sup> In 1598, when the marquis of Winchester died and Dorset was without a lord lieutenant, the council appointed a commission of four knights to carry out his duties.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, when the council did not appoint a lord lieutenant to replace lord Hunsdon in 1596,

---

<sup>1</sup> SP 12/59, f. 190; cf. Bodl. Tanner MS. 241, f. 45; Harl. MS. 474, f. 68; P.C.C. 48 Rutland.

<sup>2</sup> Bodl. Tanner MS. 241, f. 45; cf. H.M.C. Foljambe, 25.

<sup>3</sup> In the absence of any subsequent lists of deputy lieutenants it is impossible to determine how many remained in their posts, but Hugh Fortescue of Devon had died by 1600 still unknighthed and Richard Carew (Devon) and Walter Bagot (Staffs) also died as esquires in 1620 and 1623: P.C.C. 69 Wallopp, 106 Soame, 52 Swann.

<sup>4</sup> Musters, Beacons, Subsidies, etc. in the County of Northampton A.D. 1586-1623, ed. J. Wake (Northants Record Soc. iii), 3, 34-35.

<sup>5</sup> J.C. Roberts, The Parliamentary Representation of Devon and Dorset, 1559-1601 (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1958), 269-70.

only one esquire found his way on to each of the commissions of Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>1</sup> Sheriffs were invariably placed at the head of these commissions, a practice which may explain Burghley's anxiety about the 'great lack of martiall men' when he was selecting sheriffs in 1595.<sup>2</sup> The overwhelming preponderance of knights both among the deputy lieutenants and on the military commissions may thus represent a governmental attempt to give a military flavour to the leadership of the county militia.

It can have been little more than a flavour, for many a deputy lieutenant had not seen active service. Of the three deputy lieutenants of Lancashire only Sir Richard Shirburne had seen a battlefield, and that many years before.<sup>3</sup> Only one of the five<sup>4</sup> deputy lieutenants of Sussex had seen active service: he was Sir Thomas Shirley who, with his son and a troop of his own raising, accompanied Leicester to the Netherlands to become firstly treasurer at war and then scandalously bankrupt.<sup>5</sup> Norfolk's deputy lieutenants were only marginally more experienced. Sir John Peyton had seen service both in Ireland and in the Netherlands, where he was

<sup>1</sup> A.P.C. 1596-7, 51-53.

<sup>2</sup> Letter quoted by E.P. Cheyney, A History of England from the defeat of the Armada to the death of Elizabeth, ii. 355-6.

<sup>3</sup> He was knighted at Leith in 1544: Shaw, ii. 55.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 283, n.3.

<sup>5</sup> D.N.B. Dr. Mousley (p. 646), conveys the impression that Sir Nicholas Parker also had an active military career but she has confused two men of the same name. One was a captain in the Netherlands, being knighted there by lord Willoughby in 1588, whereas the Sussex man was knighted at Cowdray in 1591: Shaw, ii. 87, 88. The soldier was in the Netherlands in 1587 during which time the Sussex man was performing the duties of sheriff: C.S.P. For. 1587, 59, 426; C.S.P. For. 1586-7, 419, 433; P.R.O. Sheriffs.

knighted by Leicester,<sup>1</sup> and was later lieutenant of the Tower;<sup>2</sup> Sir William Butts had distinguished himself at the battle of Pinkie;<sup>3</sup> and Sir Edmund Wyndham made an unsuccessful attempt to deal with Ket's rebels.<sup>4</sup> But neither Sir Christopher Heydon nor Sir William after him appears to have seen active service. Sir William had been appointed vice-admiral of Norfolk in 1578 but he, and probably the government, regarded it as an office of profit rather than a military appointment.<sup>5</sup> Two of Sir William's sons (neither of them deputy lieutenants) were knighted while fighting under Essex,<sup>6</sup> a circumstance which may indicate a family interest in martial activities. Sir Robert Southwell was a rear-admiral in 1588, but this may have had more to do with his marriage into the family of lord Howard of Effingham than with military prowess.<sup>7</sup> Not even such slender threads as these link the names of Sir Edward Clere and Sir Arthur Heveningham with military affairs.

If they had not themselves been on active service, the deputies did, in the main, take an active interest in things military within their counties, and it was for their abilities as organisers and administrators that they were, at least partly, chosen. But not always. Sir Thomas Wilford left the filling in of the muster returns to the muster marshal,

---

<sup>1</sup> D.N.B.; Shaw, ii. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Vis. Norf. 34. Whether tenure of this office indicated military prowess is open to question.

<sup>3</sup> F.W. Steer, 'The Butts Family of Norfolk', Norf. Arch. xxix (1946), 192.

<sup>4</sup> R. Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, iii. 969.

<sup>5</sup> He purchased the office for £300: Smith, 196.

<sup>6</sup> Dashwood, ii. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. i. 127.



'myself never having been trained therein,' and the earl of Exeter had to hold a preliminary conference of his new deputy lieutenants before training began because of their lack of knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Such cases may not have been exceptional. Thus, Sir Edward Clere and Sir William Heydon, both deputy lieutenants for Norfolk in 1585, and Sir John Peyton and Sir Arthur Heveningham (who joined them in 1588), are not to be found in a muster commission of the late 1570's. Walter Covert is likewise missing from the Sussex commission.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, these men were not lacking in administrative experience, and since the duties of deputy lieutenants covered matters other than military, the choice of enthusiastic, competent administrators was wise. Even religion need not bar a Catholic but loyal knight like Sir Matthew Arundel from holding the office.<sup>3</sup>

Loyalty, efficiency, enthusiasm, patronage, all played their part in the making of a deputy lieutenant. But there was something more. There were many possessed of all these qualifications who never held the office. Their interest in local administration was recognized by the frequency with which they appeared on commissions of all sorts, including muster commissions and special military commissions in which they were associated with the deputy lieutenants, to the confusion of at least one

---

<sup>1</sup> L. Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 474, ff. 68-69, 77b-78, 80b-81. The list of deputies is dated 1585 but the subsidy commission must date from 1579-80, for Dru Drury, styled a knight, was dubbed in 1579 and Sir Ralph Shelton died in 1580: Shaw, ii. 79; Dashwood, ii. 347.

<sup>3</sup> G.S. Thomson, T.R.H.S. 4th ser. v (1922), 166. Generally, however, protestant convictions carried weight: Boynton, op. cit. 101.

writer on the subject.<sup>1</sup> One mark which distinguished the deputy lieutenants from this group was one of degree: deputy lieutenants were almost invariably knights. This may indicate that a knighthood, even when awarded to a civilian, had not been divested of its military implications. There is, however, an alternative explanation. Deputy lieutenants were few in number and they were appointed intermittently. Few gentlemen could therefore be chosen and when all else was roughly equal, it was social preeminence which tipped the balance. This helps to explain not only why some apparently eligible esquires were not appointed but also why some knights never held the post. Certain knights were so prominent in the leadership of the counties that they even filled the post of lord lieutenant. Sir Matthew Arundel, seeking a non-noble lord lieutenant for Dorset, reminded Cecil that Sir Henry Nevill had been lord lieutenant for Berkshire and Sir Walter Raleigh for Cornwall.<sup>2</sup> He could have gone further. Sir Francis Knollys had also been lord lieutenant for Berkshire and Oxfordshire as well;<sup>3</sup> Sir William Paulet had been a joint lord lieutenant for Dorset, Sir Walter Mildway and Sir Robert Tirwhitt joint lords lieutenant for Huntingdonshire,<sup>4</sup> as had Sir Francis Godolphin and Sir William Mohun for Cornwall,<sup>5</sup> while Sir Andrew Corbett had been lord lieutenant for

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Harland, *op. cit.* In Lancashire these men were often the friends of the lord lieutenant as well (Raines, *op. cit.*) yet he did not exert efforts to have them made his deputies.

<sup>2</sup> H.M.C. Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. viii. 486.

<sup>3</sup> H.M.C. Foljambe, 26; SP 12/59, f. 191.

<sup>4</sup> SP 12/59, f. 190.

<sup>5</sup> A.P.C. 1587-88, 193.

Shropshire<sup>1</sup> and Sir Ralph Sadler for Hertfordshire.<sup>2</sup> They were exceptions, trespassers on noble ground in the same way that unknighthed deputy lieutenants were trespassers on a knightly preserve, but the exceptional nature of their appointment provides a clue as to why they were appointed. They were exceptional people, in their own counties and sometimes beyond. Several of them were members of the council and one was the son and heir of the marquis of Winchester.

So with deputy lieutenants. No Lancashire knight or esquire could match Shirburne and Byron in power, activity and wealth, and the same can be said of the deputy lieutenants of Norfolk. Dr. Smith regards the tenure of this office as a sign of a family's preeminence in the county.<sup>3</sup> That preeminence was often based upon wealth - Sir Edward Clere and Sir Robert Southwell appear in a list of those 'of great possessions hable to beare ye titles of baronyes',<sup>4</sup> - but also upon ability and connexions such as Sir Walter Covert and Sir Nicholas Parker of Sussex possessed.<sup>5</sup>

The council may have preferred knights as deputy lieutenants, but that preference was only partly, if at all, connected with the military associations of knighthood. Where and when the post existed, it was usually filled by those knights who, for a variety of reasons, were preeminent in their county. They were knights because of this preeminence; they were deputy lieutenants for the same reason.

<sup>1</sup> SP 12/59, f. 190b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. f. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, 194.

<sup>4</sup> Lansd. MS. 104, f. 52b.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p.151; Mauseley, 264, 274; cf. Boynton, op. cit. 101.

### Conclusion

Whatever else the foregoing chapters have shown, it is clear that knights no longer had a carefully defined role in the service of the state and that knighthood was no longer an ideal inspiring a certain quality of service. Possibly this aspect of knighthood had always been more predominant in courtly romances and chivalric treatises than in real life. Lull's book is an indication that all was not well even in the palmy days; the situation had worsened by the end of the fifteenth century when Caxton was lamenting:

O ye knyghtes of Englonde, where is the custome and vsage of noble chivalry that was vsed in tho dayes? What do ye now but go to the baynes and playe atte dyse? And some use not honest and good rule, ageyne alle ordre of knyghthoode.<sup>1</sup>

The knights of England might well have replied that Caxton's exhortation to 'see manhode, curtosye and gentylnesse' by reading 'the noble volumes of Saynt Graal, of Lancelot ... and many mo' was no longer relevant to the needs of their society, and if such a reply did not enter their heads then it was soon to be put there by Sir Thomas Elyot. For him it was the educated gentleman, serving his king and country in central and local administration, who filled the needs of the day, and it was this ideal which eventually prevailed. In the literature of the late middle

---

<sup>1</sup> The Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii), 127; see also S. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 276.

ages 'magnanimity' had connoted personal prowess and prestige, but by Elizabeth's reign it had much more to do with devotion to public service.<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, the word 'knight' ceased to have much qualitative significance and became simply a title which some of Elyot's new administrators might bear, a title which was irrelevant to the quality of the administrator's education, his ideals and his activity. Chivalry was read about in popular romances, played at in tournaments, but taken seriously by fewer and fewer people each year. By the time Beaumont wrote his Knight of the Burning Pestle the knightly ideal had lost completely, romantic heroism faring very badly when contrasted even with solid citizenry, and the attempt of even one so illustrious as Sir Philip Sydney to reconcile the ancient ideals of knighthood with the Renaissance in both his life and his writings had failed.<sup>2</sup> The medieval notion of the chivalrous knight had been rejected for all practical purposes and that of the civilised and educated gentleman had taken its place.

But if the chivalrous ideal lost ground, the knightly title did not: knighthood did not die in the sixteenth century, it was transformed. Knights were probably never as completely inspired with idealism as the theorists would have liked and attempts to revive it in the late fifteenth century indicate that even when the first Tudor was crowned, the chivalric ideal was waning. But an approximation to the ideal was possible while the majority of knights followed their lord in his just wars, there to be rewarded (ostensibly), for their valour. Circumstances after 1550

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Greaves, Blazon of Honour, 65, 72.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 123-4, 135.

conspired to shatter even this illusion and by the 1570's mere civil knights comprised the majority of the order. By the close of the century the transformation was complete: the practice of knighting large numbers on the field, respectable and unremarkable fifty years before, was now frowned upon.

Thus, as knighthood was losing its military ring, it was gaining ground as a civil honour. The change did not revive knightly idealism. Perhaps this was not possible in an age when it was increasingly believed that public service was the vocation of every gentleman. At any rate, the notion that knighthood was a reward for personal service must have been difficult to sustain when knighthoods were procured and purchased. What little remained of the old knightly ideals when the Tudors came to power had more or less vanished when the last of them died, as the honour was transformed (partly by policy, partly by circumstance), from a predominantly military to a predominantly civil one from which the element of reward was in part removed and the notion of duty almost entirely absent.

Although it may have appalled the chivalric writers of earlier centuries, the new emerging knighthood had its value - Elizabeth's anger at her generals' indiscriminate granting of it and the scramble by her subjects and those of her successor to receive it, are proof of this. For the crown, knighthood was a valuable sign of the royal prerogative, an inexpensive token of royal recognition in an age when this was so important and, through its ceremonies, a useful instrument for projecting the image of monarchy which the Tudors were seeking to present to their people. More important, especially towards the end of the century, it was a method of

social regulation. The long-standing £40 qualification indicates that this aspect had always been present - a loyal and blameless servant from the lower orders had never stood much chance of becoming a knight - but under the Tudors, even the rare annuity to the poor but valiant soldier seems to have fallen into desuetude. Even in the fifteenth century the ownership of £40 worth of land was only the first of a number of tests that a candidate had to pass. In 1429 a Southwark merchant who claimed a knighthood because he was worth 100 marks and because there had been a general summons was quickly disabused,<sup>1</sup> and Tudor distraint procedure clearly indicates that £40 freeholders had no right to the knightly title.

It is at first sight curious that Tudor noblemen and their heirs apparent should also have been regarded as unsuitable material for knighthood except on the field or in a great ceremony. But this discovery is consistent with the view that mere civil knighthood was regarded not so much as a reward or decoration as a social denominator, carefully distinguishing its holders both from the select group of noblemen above them and from the much larger body of gentlemen from which they were drawn. Not for nothing was the knightage called 'nobilitas minor'. This may explain why two Sussex gentlemen who were ennobled were first knighted on the day of their creation. It also suggests a reason why a county like Sussex, with five or six resident noblemen,<sup>2</sup> should have fewer knights than Norfolk or Lancashire or Wiltshire with, normally, only one: there was an overwhelming concern not to overcrowd the upper ranks.

---

<sup>1</sup> F.M. Nichols, 'On feudal and obligatory knighthood', Archaeologia xxxix (1863), 226-7.

<sup>2</sup> Mauseley, 228-30.

The fact that peers were knighted in ceremonial occasions and in battle suggests that, at least until 1559, social regulation was not the only purpose of knighthood, a point confirmed by the discovery that the wars of the earlier Tudors gave opportunities to many commoners who were just outside the normally accepted level of knightly wealth. But between 1560 and 1585, a unique conspiracy of circumstances made the dubbing of war knights improbable and the creation of ceremonial ones impossible: the social element in knighthood became paramount by default. It was a situation which Burghley, who was concerned to create an administrative and social élite, probably gloried in and by the end of her reign Elizabeth was making a principle out of the fortuitous custom of a quarter of a century, seeking to extend its application to war knights by insisting that her commanders dub virtually only those whose social standing she could approve.

The value of knighthood to the crown was also its attraction for the gentry. Whether Elizabeth consistently followed the policy she outlined for her generals is of less importance than the impression she gave, or possibly the popular feeling which she reflected. This was that the knightage was a social élite. Men seek identity. To be a member of a large, somewhat ill-defined group does not satisfy this desire. When Sir Thomas Smith complained that gentlemen were made right cheap he was voicing the insecurity which the longer-established of his class felt at the enlargement of the gentle group and at the apparent increase in social mobility which both Elyot and Shakespeare feared might end in the complete breakdown of social order:



Take but degree away, untune that string,  
And, hark, what discord follows! <sup>1</sup>

Thus, many sought a more secure identity, and a more narrowly defined distinction, in knighthood.

Knighthood, then, continued to have value and meaning for both crown and subject because it was transformed. But the transformation had its dangers. The honour now carried with it no duties save the tenuous one of loyalty to the monarch who bestowed it and this loyalty might be lessened by the knowledge that the title had been paid for, and arranged by a prominent courtier. Loyalty might vanish away if knighthood ceased to provide the holder with the social distinction he sought. The death of the conservative Elizabeth and the accession of the less wary James I saw the beginning of a second inflation of knighthood, different both in nature and consequences from that of the 1540's and 1550's. For this was an inflation of demand, backed by money, encouraged by an impecunious crown and exploited by a cynical court. Coming at a time when the transformation of knighthood was so complete, this inflation was more dangerous. Contemporaries recognized the danger immediately and responded variously by scoffing at the quality of the new knights, by seeking to establish the superiority of the smaller group of knights of the Bath over knights bachelor, and finally by embracing the new order of baronet, which ranked above all knights.<sup>2</sup> This, even more than Essex's activities, was the true

---

<sup>1</sup> Troilus and Cressida, act 1, scene 3.

<sup>2</sup> Stone, Crisis, 75-77, 80 et seq.; H.M.C. Sackville (Knole), i. 123; J. Clapham, Elizabeth of England: certain observations concerning the life of Queen Elizabeth, ed. E. Plummer Read and C. Read, 108; 'A copy of an original manuscript of Sir Francis Barnham', ed. T. Barrett Leonard, Ancestor, ix. 205.

debasing of knighthood, for knights bachelor lost their cherished position next to the nobility. In turn, it made knighthood a very inferior reward in the hands of the crown. This at least was the opinion of the writer of a paper who sought to induce members of parliament to petition James to abolish the new order.<sup>1</sup>

But in all this Elizabeth was not blameless. Throughout the Tudor period civil knighthood had been growing, and the effect of Elizabeth's reign was to obscure the element of service by a concentration upon the social qualification. Once the element of 'notorious service' was lessened and blood and wealth became paramount, everything turned upon the definition of blood and wealth. James I was less conservative in his estimate than Elizabeth and the thing she had striven to prevent came about. The author of an early seventeenth-century discourse on knighthood, doubtless wise after the event, saw the point clearly: 'When men are honoured cheeflie for their lande, no marvaille if in time men come to honour without virtue, gentry or lands.'<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth would have considered it a catastrophe, as well it may have been, but it was a catastrophe partly of her own making.

---

<sup>1</sup> H.M.C. Verulam, 24-26.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 39, f. 318.

## Appendices

Tables A, B, CKnightly families of Lancashire, Norfolk and SussexAbbreviations, etc.

d	died
k	knighted
①	number of years not knighted (from succession).
////	not resident in the county.
	years knighted.
a.b.c.e.	used to refer to footnotes after each table, under family name.
[ ]	families omitted from chapter 1, pp. 14-19.
Column I	Family name.
II	Principal residence.
III	Number of knighthoods out of number of heads of family.
IV	Number of knightless years for family with only 1 knighted head (excluding minorities).
V	Number of knightless years for family with 2 knighted heads (excluding minorities).
VI	Number of knightless years for family with 3 or more knighted heads (excluding minorities).

## LANCASHIRE

TABLE A. 301

LANCASTERSHIRE		1800 05 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100 05																								III	IV	V	VI
Ashton	Ashton	k 87	Thomas	d 16	d.s.p.m.																					[1/1]			
Ashton	Middleton	k 97	Richard d. 07	Richard a.	(22)	d. 29	Richard b. k. 35			d 49	d 50	Ric. ①	Richard c. ⑥	d 63	Richard e.	(23)										2/6		58	
Atherton	Atherton		George	(18)	d 18	John a.	(10)			k 44					d 73	John b.	(26)									1/3	44		
Bold	Bold		Rick ④	04			d 28	Richard	(30)			d 58	Richard		(44)						d. 02	d.s.p.m.				1/3	78		
Booth	Barton	k 82	John	d 13	John	(13)	d 26	John	(6)	a.		d 53	John		(23)		d 76	d.s.p.m.								[1/4]	[42]		
Bradshaw	Haigh		Roger	(35)				a. k 35	d 37	Ralph b.	(17)	d 54	Roger c.		(45)						d 99	James e. ④				1/4	101		
Brereton	Worsley		Richard	(23)			k 23						d 57	Geoffrey ⑧	d 65	Richard		(33)			d 98	⑤				1/4	67		
Butler	Bewsey	k 85	Thomas			d 22	Thomas	k 33	(11)			d 50	Thomas	(26)			k 76	d 79	Edw. ⑦	d 86	d.s.p.m.					3/4		44	
Byron	Clayton	①	Nich. ①	d 01	John	(11)	a.	k 22							d 67	John	(13)	k 80				d 03				3/3		25	
Carus	Kirkby Lonsdale							William a.	(67)			Thomas			k 67	d 71	Thos. ④	79	Christopher b.	(28)						1/4	99		
Farrington	Farrington	Wm. ①	Henry		(32)			k 33				d 50	William	(53)												2/3		85	
Gerard	Bryn		Thomas	(13)	a. k 13		d 23	Thomas	(9)		k 44		d 53	k 53	Thomas							d 01	Thos. ②			3/4		24	
Gerard	Astley							James a.	d 48	Gilbert	(31)						k 79					d 93							
																						Thomas k b. 91				2/3	[31]		
Halsall	Halsall	k 98	Henry			d 22	Thomas	k 33	(11)	d 39	Henry a.	(32)					d 74	Edward b.	(20)		d 94	Cuth. k 99	c. ③			3/5		68	
Hesketh	Rufford		Thomas	(23)		d 23	Robert a. k 35		(12)	d 41	Thomas b. k 53											Robert	(15)			2/4		56	
Holcroft	Holcroft		John a.		(47)			John	k 47			d 60																	
										John	k 53												d 98	Hamlet b. ⑤		2/4		52	
Holcroft	Werden a.							Thomas b. k. 44				d 58	Thomas		(45)											1/2	45		
Holland	Denton		Thurston d. ⑧	08	Richard	(36)				k 44	d 48	Edward	(22)				d 70	Richard	(33)							1/4	99		
Holt	Gristlehurst		Ralph a.		(44)			Thomas	k 44						d 62	Francis		(41)								1/3	85		
Houghton	Houghton Tower	Wm. ①	Richard a.	(3)		k. 23								d 59	Thomas	(21)		d 80	Alex. ⑧	Thos. ⑥	d 89	Richard k 99	e. ⑩			3/6		43	
Ireland	The Hutt	k 97	John			d 25	Thomas	(20)		d 45	George	(51)										d 96	John ⑦			1/4	78		
Langley	Agecroft		Robert	(27)			d 27	Robert a.	(20)		k 47				d 61	d.s.p.m.										[1/2]	[47]		
Langton	Newton		Ralph ③	d 03	Richard a. ④		Thomas b. ①	(15)		k 33							d 69	Thomas c.	(21)							1/4	43		
Leigh	Bradley		Peter				d 27	Peter	(14)		d 41	Peter ③										d 90	Peter a. k 98	⑧		3/4		25	

## LANCASHIRE (continued).

TABLE A (cont).

LANCASHIRE (continued).																						III	IV	VI	VII				
I	II	1000	05	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	1000	05						
Leyland	Morleys	Jnd 01	William (12)	k 13							d 47	Thomas (17)		d 64	d.s.p.										[1/3]	[30]			
Molyneux	Sefton	Ric.d 02	William a. (11)	k 13							d 48	Richard (5)	k53			d 69	Richard b. (6)	k 86			Nicholas 1600				[1/4]			24	
Moseley	Manchester															d 68	Edward (35)								1/3	66			
Norris	Speke	Henry		(24)				d 24	William k (7)	31							d 75	Edward (15)	d 90	John b. (13)					1/5	72			
Osbaldestone	Osbaldestone	Richard d. (7)	Alex. a. 07	k 13							d 44	John (31)						d 79	Thomas (24)						1/3	83			
Preston	Furness	Thomas a. (17)											d 37	John (42)															
Radcliffe	Ordsall	Alexander (13)	k 13									d 49																	
										William k 44						d 68	John (9)	k 77		a. d 89	Alex. b. 96	k 99	d 99	John c. 99	5/5			22	
Sherburne	Stonyhurst	Richard (13)	d 13	Hugh (15)				d 28	Thomas (8)	36	d 44	Richard k (8)									d 94	Richard (9)			1/5	53			
Southworth	Samlesbury	Chris. 02	k 04	John (2)				d 17	Thos. k (5)	a. 23				d 46	k 47	John (4)								d 95	Thomas (1)	4/5			9
Standish	Standish	k 82	Alexander 07	Ralph (31)							d 38	Alex. Ralph 09	(7)	46	Edward a. (57)										1/5	96			
Stanley	Cross Hall							James a. 33							George k 65				b. Edward 91	Henry d 97	Henry c. 97	Edward. 97	2/6		?				
Stanley	Winwick											Thomas a. 53								d 76	Edward b. (27)				1/2	[27]			
Talbot	Bashall	Edmund (19)	d 19	Thomas (25)							k 44			d 58	Henry (12)	d 70	Thomas (28)						d 98	John a. (5)	1/5	89			
Talbot	Salebury	John 11	d 11	Jn. d (4)	15	John (36)							d 51	John (37)						d 88	John a. (1)			1/5	73				
Townley	Townley	k 97	John 97								d 40	Richard (7)	+2		d 56	John b. (47)													
											a. Richard k 47			d 54	d.v.p.										2/4		56		
Trafford	Trafford	k 94	Edmund 13	d 13	Edmund a. (20)			k+d 33	Edmund (11)	k44					d 63	Edmund (15)	k 78			d 90	Edmund (13)			4/5			59		
Tunstall	Thurland	Brian (13)	d 13	Marmaduke a. (5)				k 33						d 57	Francis b. (26)					d 87	Francis c. (13)			1/4	57				
Worsley	Booths	Robert 33			(33)			d 33	Robert a. (11)	k 44										d 85	Robert (18)			1/3	62				
TOTALS																													
Knights alive on 31 December		13	11	13	11	11	9	11	16	25	20	22	17	15	11	7	11	10	7	5	9								
Knights made 1501-5, 06-10, etc.		3	0	5	0	4	0	11	0	11	4	5	0	1	1	0	5	0	1	1	6								

Table A - Notes

Unacknowledged information from Watson and Shaw and the sources listed below each family name. In this and subsequent tables, a number of deaths have been determined from the Indexes of Inquisitions preserved at the Public Record Office and Indexes of Wills preserved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Ashton of Middleton

- a. Watson suggests that this man was knighted in 1513 but he is consistently styled esquire in the subsidy returns of the 1520's: E 179/130/79, 83, 91.
- b. K. by 1535.
- c. Aged 14 in 1550.
- e. A ward until c. 1580.

Atherton

- a. Aged 5 in 1518.
- b. Aged 17 in 1573.

Bold

- a. K. by 1504: Statutes of the Realm, ii. 678.
- b. Dugdale's Visitation of Lancashire, 1664-5, ed. F.R. Raines, i. 43.

Booth

- a. Less than 1 year old in 1526.

Bradshaw

- a. K. between 1533 and 1535.
- b. Brother and heir.
- c. Nephew and heir.
- e. St. George's Visitation of Lancashire, 1613, ed. F.R. Raines, 57.

Table A - Notes (Cont.)Byron

- a. A minor in 1504 but a j.p. in 1511. K. by November 1522: C.J. Black, *The Administration and Parliamentary Representation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1529-1558* (unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1966), 291.

Gerard of Bryn

- a. K. by 1513.
- b. Aged 12 in 1523.

Gerard of Astley

- a. Younger son of the Gerards of Ince.
- b. G.E.C. v. 635. Watson ascribes this knighthood to a Thomas of the Bryn branch. The family interests had moved to Staffordshire by the 1570's but the heads of the family continue to appear in the Lancashire subsidy assessments.

Halsall

- a. Aged 18 in 1539.
- b. Brother and heir: V.C.H. Lancs. iii. 194.

Hesketh

- a. Not a knight in the 1520's: Add. MS. 32104, ff. 345b-349; E 179/130/80, 86. K. by 1535: L.P. viii. 496.
- b. Aged 15 in 1541.

Holcroft of Holcroft

- a. Date of death unknown.
- b. Brother and heir; approximate date of succession.

Houghton

- a. A minor until 1520. A contemporary pamphlet erroneously has him among the coronation knights of 1533: L.P. vi. 601 (4). He was knighted before 1524 when he was assessed as a knight and used the style consistently thereafter: E 179/130/81, 85; Somerville, i. 500; H.M.C. 4th Report, Appendix, 444.
- b. Brother and heir.
- c. Half-brother and heir.
- e. K. before 28 June 1599: C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 222. Shaw's date (ii. 98), is the date when the heralds partitioned the fees: College of Arms MS. *The Booke of Partition* ab a<sup>o</sup> 1583 ad ann. 1626, f. 135.



Table A - Notes (Cont.)Langley

- a. Grandson and heir.

Langton

- a. Aged 17 in 1503: W.A. Abram, History of Blackburn, 707-9.
- b. Brother and heir: ibid.
- c. Grandson and heir, aged 8 in 1569.

Leigh

- a. Grandson and heir: W. Beamont, History of the House of Lyme, 114.

Molyneux

- a. Brother and heir. Knighthood c. 1513: L.P. i (1), p. 220; (2), 2463.
- b. Grandson and heir, aged 10 in 1569.

Moseley

Nicholas knighted 4 May 1600, not August as in Shaw: College of Arms MS. The Booke of Partition ab a<sup>o</sup> 1583 ad ann. 1626, f. 136 (i); Shaw, ii. 98. He was the younger son of Edward of Hough End.

Osbaldestone

- a. Orbastone in Shaw, ii. 42.
- b. Abram, op. cit. 603.

Preston

- a. Date of knighthood not determined. In fact, he may not have been a knight. J. Stockdale, Annals of Cartmel, 75, 427, calls him a knight but J. Corry, History of Lancashire, i. 427 and T. West, Antiquities of Furness, 309, do not. The family moved from Westmorland at the dissolution.

Radcliffe

- a. From here, following E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England, x. 105; xi. 132.
- b. Aged 16 in 1589.
- c. Brother and heir.

Table A - Notes (Cont.)Southworth

- a. Aged 20 in 1517.
- b. Did not receive estates for seven years.

Standish

- a. Brother and heir.

Stanley of Cross Hall

A. Collins, Peerage of England, iii. 96-97.

- a. Younger brother of second earl of Derby; k. by 1533: Watson, 617; date of death not determined.
- b. Dates of death of Sir George and Edward not determined.
- c. Uncle and heir.

Stanley of Winwick

Collins, op. cit. iii. 78-79.

- a. Younger son of third earl of Derby; died, and buried, at Walthamstow.
- b. Of Tonge Castle, Salop and Eynham, Oxford.

Talbot of Bashall

- a. Brother and heir: Abstracts of Inquisitions Post Mortem, ii, ed. W.A. Langton (Chetham Soc. xcix), 162. Bashall is just inside the Yorkshire boundary but the family was active in Lancashire.

Talbot of Salebury

- a. Grandson and heir; aged 7 in 1588: ibid. 161.

Townley

- a. Son of Richard. The father's knightless years are counted only before his son's knighthood and after his death.
- b. Cousin and heir.

Trafford

- a. A subsidy return of 1529 styles Trafford (a commissioner), as knight but the next return reverts to 'esquire': E 179/130/91, 93.  
(cont. on next page)

Table A - Notes (Cont.)Trafford (Cont.)

Possibly the commissioners used 'knight' in 1529 because their commission had erroneously done so. There is no other evidence for Trafford's knighthood before 1533. Watson gives 1528 but his sources do not bear this out.

Tunstall

- a. Aged 6 in 1513.
- b. Aged 17 in 1557.
- c. Aged 18 in 1587.

Worsley

- a. Grandson and heir.



NORFOLK

TABLE B. 309

		100	05	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	100	05					
Audley	Swaffham Mkt.	k 97	John					cl 29	d 31	Richard 2	John 10	a. 46	Edmund b.		(39)				d 85	Philip 18			1/5	69				
Bedingfield	Oxburgh	Thomas 9	k 09							d 38																		
						a. Edmund	k 23						d 53							Edmund 2								
										Henry	k 49								d 83	d 85	Thos 5	d 90	Henry 10	b.	3/6		16	
Blennerhassett	Frense a.	John 14	(14)	d. 14	Thomas 9	k 23		d 31	George 12	d 43	John b.	(30)						d 73	Thomas	(26)			d 99	Edw. 4	1/6	95		
Boleyn	Blickling	k 83	Wm. d 05	Thos. 4	k 09				Created Viscount Rochford, 1525.39	d	d.s.p.																	
								Geoffrey	k 29		d 36																	
						James a.	k 20	b.					d 61		d.s.p.										[4/4]		[4]	
Butts	Thornage a.	William	(45)							k 45	(2)	k 47	William						d 83	d.s.p.					[2/2]		[47]	
Calthorpe	Burnham	k 97	Philip					d 35	Philip 12	k 47	d 51	d.s.p.m.													[2/2]		[12]	
Calthorpe	Waxham		Francis a.		(34)			b. k. 34		d 44	William	(44)							d 88	d.s.p.					1/2	78		
Clere	Ormesby	k 94	Robert					d 29	John 10	k 39				d 57	Edward 21	k 78									3/3		31	
Clere	Stokesby		Thomas	(38)	a.					k 44		d 53	Charles 18	d 71	Thomas 32										1/3	88		
Corbett	Sprowston		John	(42)						d 42	John 17	d 59	Miles 37												1/3	96		
Doyley	Shottesham a.	Edward	(35)					d 35	Henry 12	k 47				d 64	Henry 33				d 92	Edmund 6					1/4	86		
Drury	Riddlesworth														Dru. a.	k 79									[1/1]			
Farmer	E. Barsham	Henry	(32)					k 32	d 34	Wm. a. 6	k 41			d 58														
										Thomas b.	d 49	Thomas	(54)													2/3	92	
Gawdy	W. Harling														Bassingbourne a.	(32)			d 89	Bass. k 8	97					[1/2]	[40]	
Gawdy	Claxton														Thomas b.	(21)	k 78		d 88	Henry 15						[1/2]	[36]	
Godsalve	Buckham Ferry	Thomas a.	(44)							d 44	(3)	k 47	John 57	William 5	Thomas b.	(26)			d 88	Roger 15					1/5	93		
Gresham	Holt									Richard a.	k 37		d 49															
										John	k 47		d 60															
										Thomas b.	k 59								d 79	William c.	(24)					[3/4]		[24]
Heveningham	Ketteringham	John 13	a. k 13							d 36	Anthony 11	k 47		d 57	Henry/Arthur b.	(19)	k 78									3/4		43



# NORFOLK (continued)

TABLE B<sub>1</sub> (cont). 310

		05	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	100	05			
Heydon	Baconsthorpe	John <sup>k</sup> <sub>09</sub>									d <sub>50</sub>														
		Christopher <sup>a</sup> <sub>13</sub>							d <sub>40</sub>	Chris. <sup>k</sup> <sub>49</sub>							d <sub>79</sub>	Wm. <sup>k</sup> <sub>83</sub>		d <sub>94</sub>	Christopher <sup>k</sup> <sub>96</sub>	5/5			15
Heydon																				John <sup>k</sup> <sub>99</sub>		[1/1]			
Hobart	Hales	James <sup>k</sup> <sub>04</sub>	a.		d <sub>17</sub>	Walter	(19)		k <sub>36</sub>	d <sub>38</sub>	Henry	(23)		d <sub>61</sub>	James	(42)						2/4			88
Jenney	Cressingham Magna				Christopher <sup>a</sup>				b. <sup>k</sup> <sub>38</sub>	d <sub>43</sub>	John			(32)			d <sub>75</sub>	William / Henry	(28)			1/4	60		
Knyvett	Buckenham	William <sup>k</sup> <sub>75</sub>			d <sub>15</sub>																				
		Thos. <sup>k</sup> <sub>09</sub>	d <sub>12</sub>	Edmund <sup>a</sup>	(19)				b. <sup>k</sup> <sub>39</sub>		d <sub>51</sub>	Thomas <sup>k</sup> <sub>53</sub>	d <sub>69</sub>	Thomas	(7)	c.		e. <sup>k</sup> <sub>93</sub>	d <sub>94</sub>	Philip <sup>k</sup> <sub>94</sub>	(9)	5/6			37
Knyvett	Ashwellthorpe			Edmund	(40)				d <sub>40</sub>	Thomas <sup>a</sup>	(17)						k <sub>78</sub>					1/2	57		
Knyvett	Wymondham	(23)		Edward <sup>a</sup>	k <sub>23</sub>	d <sub>28</sub>	d.s.p. <sup>b</sup>															[1/1]			
Lovell	Barton Bendish	k <sub>87</sub>	Greg. <sup>d</sup> <sub>07</sub>	Thos. <sup>k</sup> <sub>13</sub>		d <sub>23</sub>	Francis <sup>a</sup>	(4)	k <sub>29</sub>		d <sub>52</sub>	Thomas <sup>k</sup> <sub>53</sub>	d <sub>68</sub>	Thomas	(33)					b. <sup>k</sup> <sub>01</sub>		5/5			44
Lovell	and E. Harling	k <sub>87</sub>	Thomas <sup>a</sup>			d <sub>24</sub>	dsp															[1/1]			
Lovell		k <sub>97</sub>	Robert <sup>d</sup>			d <sub>23</sub>	d.s.p.															[1/1]			
Mansell	Pentney																		Robert	k <sub>96</sub>		[1/1]			
Paston	Paston	k <sub>87</sub>	John <sup>k</sup> <sub>03</sub>	William	(17)	k <sub>20</sub>						d <sub>54</sub>	William <sup>a</sup>	(24)			k <sub>78</sub>					3/3			41
Paston	Appleton								Thomas <sup>a</sup>	k <sub>44</sub>	d <sub>50</sub>	Henry <sup>b</sup>	(0)		d <sub>69</sub>	Edward <sup>c</sup>	(31)					1/3	31		
Peyton																		John <sup>k</sup> <sub>86</sub>				[1/1]			
Sharnebourne	Sharnebourne H.	Henry	(12)	k <sub>12</sub>		d <sub>23</sub>	Thomas	(34)			d <sub>57</sub>	Christopher	(19)	d <sub>76</sub>	Francis	(27)						1/4	92		
Shelton	Shelton	John <sup>k</sup> <sub>09</sub>							d <sub>39</sub>	John <sup>k</sup> <sub>47</sub>		d <sub>58</sub>	Ralph	(20)		k <sub>78</sub>	Thos. <sup>d</sup> <sub>80</sub>	Ralph	(4)	a.		3/5			46
Shelton																		John	k <sub>96</sub>			[1/1]			
Southwell	Woodrising	Robt. <sup>k</sup> <sub>04</sub>		d <sub>3</sub>	Richard <sup>a</sup>	(27)			k <sub>40</sub>				d <sub>64</sub>	Thos. <sup>d</sup> <sub>68</sub>	Robert	(5)	c. <sup>k</sup> <sub>85</sub>		d <sub>98</sub>	Thomas <sup>e</sup>	(0)	3/5			40
Spelman	Narborough				John <sup>a</sup>				k <sub>32</sub>		d <sub>43</sub>	John	(2)	John	(36)			d <sub>81</sub>	Clement	(22)		1/4	60		
Strange (Le S.)	Hunstanton	Roger <sup>k</sup> <sub>01</sub>	Robt. <sup>d</sup> <sub>06</sub>	a.	Thomas	(17)	k <sub>29</sub>			b. <sup>d</sup> <sub>45</sub>	Nicholas <sup>k</sup> <sub>47</sub>						b. <sup>d</sup> <sub>80</sub>	Nicholas <sup>k</sup> <sub>89</sub>	d <sub>91</sub>	Hamon <sup>e</sup>	(0)	4/6			35
Tyndale	Hockwood	John	(33)						k <sub>33</sub>		d <sub>46</sub>	Thomas <sup>k</sup> <sub>61</sub>	(15)					d <sub>84</sub>	William <sup>a</sup>	(14)		2/3			62
Townshend	Rainham	Roger	(20)	a. <sup>k</sup> <sub>20</sub>							d <sub>51</sub>	Roger <sup>b</sup>	(23)					k <sub>88</sub>	d <sub>90</sub>	John <sup>k</sup> <sub>96</sub>	d <sub>03</sub>	3/3			49
Townshend	Braconash								a. <sup>k</sup> <sub>45</sub>		d <sub>57</sub>	Thomas	(34)						d <sub>91</sub>	Henry	(12)	1/3	46		
Waldegrave	Stanninghall	a.	Edward	John	d <sub>14</sub>	Edward	(39)				k <sub>53</sub>				Charles <sup>b</sup>		(42)			Edward		1/5	95		





Table B - Notes

Unacknowledged information from the sources listed below each family name and from Shaw. See also prefatory note, p. 304.

Audley

A.L. Reade, Audley Pedigrees, 171-4; Dashwood, i. 130-1.

- a. Aged 6 in 1531.
- b. Brother and heir.

Bedingfield

K. Bedingfield, The Bedingfields of Oxburgh, passim; Dashwood, i. 157-60.

- a. Brother and heir.
- b. Aged 3 in 1590.

Blennerhassett

Norf. Arch. vii. 86; Visitations of Suffolk, 1561, 1577, 1612, ed. W.C. Metcalfe, 7-8.

- a. Principal seat became Barsham, Suffolk, by 1561.
- b. Half-brother and heir.

Boleyn

Vis. Norf. 52; D.N.B.; G.E.C. x. 137-42.

- a. Younger son of Sir William.
- b. L.P. ii (1), 1204; iii (1), 1081.

Butts

Dashwood, i. 343-4; Norf. Arch. xxix. 188-240.

- a. Acquired Thornage in 1536.

Calthorpe of Burnham and Waxham

C.W. Carr-Calthrop, Notes on the families of Calthorpe and Calthrop in the counties of Norfolk and Lincolnshire, 30.

- a. Uncle of Sir Philip of Burnham.
- b. By 1534; L.P. iv (1), p. 238; vii. 1601 g.5.

Clere of Ormesby

Dashwood, ii. 266-8.

Table B - Notes (Cont.)Clere of Stokesby

Dashwood, ii. 271-2.

- a. Under 16 in 1500; a younger brother.

Corbett

Dashwood, i. 35.

Doyley

Vis. Norf. 113-4.

- a. Of Pond Hall, Suffolk, until the marriage of Henry to the daughter and heir of Edward White of Shottesham.

Drury

A. Campling, History of the Drury families of Suffolk and Norfolk from the Conquest, 81-84, 100-103.

- a. 5th son of a knight.

Farmer

Vis. Norf. 119; W. Rye, Norfolk Families, 198-202; Smith, 198.

- a. Soon after Nov. 1540: P.R.O. Sheriffs; L.P. xix (1), p. 151.
- b. Brother of William.

Gawdy of West Harling and Claxton

P. Millican, The Gawdys of Norfolk and Suffolk, tables A-G.

- a. Second son.
- b. Half-brother of Bassingbourne.

Godsalve

Vis. Norf. 130.

- a. Possibly 2 generations.
- b. Brother and heir.

Gresham

G. Leveson Gower, Genealogy of the family of Gresham, 160-170; Dashwood, i. 355-7; R.C. Gabriel, Members of the House of Commons, 1586-7 (unpublished London M.A. thesis, 1954), 400-1.

- a. Younger son.
- b. Brother and heir of John.
- c. Grandson of Sir John of Titsey, brother of Sir Richard.



Table B - Notes (Cont.)Heveningham

Norf. Arch. iii. facing p. 284, 288-9; Smith, 148-153.

- a. K. by 1513: L.P. i (1), 1661 (4).
- b. Henry was 19 at his father's death; when Henry died is not clear.

Heydon

Dashwood, ii. 186-91.

- a. K. by 1514: E 163/12/16.
- b. Brother of Sir Christopher.

Hobart

Dashwood, ii. 60-62; Norf. Arch. xii. 158-163.

- a. Younger son.

Jenney

Dashwood, i. 132-4.

- a. Younger son of a Suffolk knight.
- b. L.P. xiii (1), 1309 g.11, 41.

Knyvett of Buckenham

F. Blomefield, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, i. 378-9.

- a. Aged 6 in 1515.
- b. L.P. xiii (1), p. 584; xiv (1), 672.
- c. Under 4 in 1569.
- e. E 179/152/470; C 142/244/127.

Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe

The Knyvett Letters, 1620-44, ed. B. Schofield (Norfolk Record Society, xx), 17-19.

- a. Grandson and heir, born about 1539.

Knyvett of Wymondham

- a. L.P. iii (2), 2074 g.20, 3282 p. 1366.
- b. E 150/631/13.

Table B - Notes (Cont.)Lovell

Vis. Norf. 190-2; Norf. Arch. xviii, 46-66.

- a. K. by 1529: L.P. iv (3), 6515. Inherited East Harling from Sir Thomas, who resided chiefly in Enfield, Middlesex.
- b. Smith, 143.
- c. Brother of Sir Gregory.
- e. Brother of Sir Gregory.

Mansell

W.R. Williams, Parliamentary History of Wales, 44; Smith, 21.

- a. 4th son of a Glamorgan knight.

Paston of Paston

R.W. Ketton Cremer, The Pastons. The Story of a Norfolk Family, 5-7.

- a. Grandson and heir.

Paston of Appleton

Norf. Arch. xxx. 101-105.

- a. 4th son of Sir William of Paston.
- b. Omitted in most genealogies, but his existence is proved by his father's will and his own I.P.M: P.C.C. 25 Coode; C 142/151/53.
- c. Brother and heir; aged 19 in 1569: C 142/158/3.

PeytonD.N.B.

- a. A younger son.

Sharnebourne

C.D. Sherborn, History of the family of Sherborn; Vis. Norf. 246.

Shelton

Dashwood, ii. 344-8.

- a. Still a ward in 1596.
- b. Brother of Thomas.

Table B - Notes (Cont.)Southwell

Dashwood, i. 125-8.

- a. Nephew and heir; knighthood: L.P. xv. 282 g.6; xvi. 305 g.8; date of death, D.N.B.
- b. Nephew and heir.
- c. A minor at succession.
- e. Aged 2 in 1598.

Spelman

Dashwood, i. 251-4.

- a. 4th son of a non-knightly family: E. Foss, The Judges of England, v. 234.

Strange (Le)

Dashwood, i. 64-65.

- a. Brother and heir.
- b. D.N.B.
- c. Grandson and heir.
- e. Aged 8 in 1591.

Tyndale

Rye, op. cit. 915-6.

- a. Moved to Boston, Lincs: Alumni Cantabrigienses from earliest times to 1751, ed. J. & S.A. Venn, iv. 285.

Townshend of Rainham

Dashwood, i. 306-8.

- a. K. between 1518 and 1522: L.P. ii (2), 4562; iii (2), 2712.
- b. Grandson and heir, aged 6 in 1551: C.P.R. 1563-6, p. 198.

Townshend of Braconash

J.A.C. Durham, The Townshends of Raynham, part 1, 1398-1600, 19-26.

- a. Younger brother of Sir John of Rainham.

Table B - Notes (Cont.)Waldegrave

Vis. Norf. 295-300; D.N.B. (Sir Edward).

- a. Of Borley, Essex, until 1561. Also of Cossey, Norfolk.
- b. Still alive in 1592: C.R.S. xviii. 228, 231.

Wood

Dashwood, i. 27; Rye, op. cit. 1030.

Woodhouse of Kimberly

Dashwood, i. 103-5.

- a. Died between 1526 (when he was on the commission of the peace), and 1531 (when his son had replaced him): L.P. iv (1), 2002 g.11; v. 166 g.12.
- b. Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich, 1550-1603, ed. M.A. Farrow (Norfolk Record Society, xxi), 184.

Woodhouse of Waxham and Hickling

Vis. Norf. 320-1.

- a. History of Parliament/<sup>Trust</sup> biography of Sir Thomas.
- b. Brother of Sir Thomas; death: P.C.C. 6 Morison.
- c. Inherited the Waxham estates from his uncle.

Wyndham of Felbridge

H.A. Wyndham, A family history: the Wyndhams of Norfolk and Somerset.

- a. L.P. i. p. 1541.
- b. Roger's younger brother, Francis, is styled knight by Wyndham, but he died an esquire: Norf. Arch. xxvii. 418.



SUSSEX

TABLE C 318

I	II	05	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	1000	III	IV	V	VI
Bellingham	Erringham			(47)			Edward <sup>a.</sup>	k <sub>47</sub>	d <sub>50</sub>	John	(19) <sup>b.</sup>	d <sub>76</sub>	John		(17) <sup>c.</sup>							1/3	83		
Bray	Henfield <sup>a.</sup>	Edward	(13)	k <sub>13</sub>																		2/3		20	
Browne	Cowdray	k <sub>87</sub>	Ant. <sup>d</sup>	Anthony	(17)	k <sub>23</sub>																			
							Anthony	k <sub>47</sub>														[2/3]		[17]	
Caryll	Warnham	John	(23)		d <sub>23</sub>	John	(40) <sup>a.</sup>															1/3	76		
Copley	Roughway	Roger <sup>a.</sup>	d <sub>13</sub>	Roger <sup>b.</sup>	(12)	k <sub>23</sub>																[1/4]		[48]	
Covert	Slaugham	John d <sub>03</sub>	Richard <sup>a.</sup>			(44)																1/5	91		
Dawtreay	Petworth	John	(26)			k <sub>26</sub> <sup>a.</sup>																2/4		70	
Ernley	Cockham	John	(19)	k <sub>19</sub>	d <sub>21</sub>	William	(25)															1/4	79		
Fynes	Claveringham	k <sub>01</sub>	Thomas				Giles				(33)											1/4	77		
Gage	Firle	John	(19) <sup>a.</sup>	k <sub>19</sub>																					
							Edward <sup>b.</sup>	k <sub>56</sub>														2/3		50	
Goring	Burton	John	(21)		d <sub>21</sub>	William <sup>a.</sup>	(5)	k <sub>26</sub>														2/5		72	
Hussey	Slinfold	Henry	(41)																			1/5	93		
Jeffray	Chiddingly	John	(13)	d <sub>13</sub>	Richard	(41)																1/3	77		
Lewkenor	Dedisham	k <sub>85</sub>	Roger																			[1/4]	[0]		
Lewkenor	West Dean																					[1/4]	[?]		
Marvyn	Durford			Edmund <sup>a.</sup>				k <sub>42</sub>														1/2	50+		
Owen	Easbourne	k <sub>85</sub>	David					d <sub>35</sub>	a.													[2/3]		[?]	
			Henry	k <sub>13</sub>																					
Oxenbridge	Brede	Goddard <sup>k</sup>	(9)					d <sub>31</sub>	Robert <sup>a.</sup>	(23)												3/4		58	
Palmer	Angmering	Edward	(16)	a.	d <sub>16</sub>	John <sup>b.</sup>	(47)															1/3	73		
Palmer	Parham	Robert <sup>a.</sup>	(44)																			2/3		58	
Parker	Ratton	Edward				John	(58) <sup>a.</sup>															1/4	91		
Pelham	Laughton	Thomas	(16)	d <sub>16</sub>	William	k <sub>26</sub> <sup>a.</sup>																3/6		73	
Poole	Lordington	k <sub>87</sub>	Geoffrey	(25)																		2/3		62	



SUSSEX (continued).

TABLE C, (cont). 319

I	II	1000	05	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	1000	05	III	IV	V	VI
Sackville	Buckhurst			(24)			John		(23)			d 57															
								Richard		k 49																	
Shelley	Michelgrove	John a.		(26)			d 26	Wm. 3	k 29																		
Shirley	Wiston	Rauff 10	d 10	Richard 16			k 26																				
West	Offington							Owen	b.k 36																		
								George	k 33																		
Wyndsor	W. Harting							Anthony	k 33																		

Table C - Notes

Unacknowledged information from Mouseley and Shaw, or from the sources listed under the family name. See also prefatory note, p. 304.

Bellingham

Comber, Lewes, 17-14.

- a. Younger son of Edward of Erringham.
- b. Nephew and heir; aged 13 in 1550.
- c. Aged 11 in 1576.

Bray

Berry, Surrey, 36-37.

- a. Sir Edward purchased the Vachery, Surrey, in 1535 and it became the family's principal residence after 1552: Swales, ii. 75-76.
- b. Grandson and heir: aged 4 in 1581.

Caryll

- a. Aged 18 in 1523: History of Parliament Trust biography.
- b. Aged 9 in 1566.

Copley

Letters of Sir Thomas Copley, ed. R.C. Christie.

- a. I can find no evidence of this man's having been knighted although Christie (following Berry) believed that he was knighted in 1485.
- b. Date of succession uncertain, but probably before he became sheriff in 1514: P.R.O. Sheriffs.
- c. Between Dec. 24 and Feb. 26: L.P. iv. 961 g.22, 2002 g.11.
- e. Aged 15 in 1549. Fled, with his son Henry, to France and knighted by Henry III. Elizabeth refused to recognize the knighthoods. Aged 19 in 1584.

Covert

S.A.C. xlvii, 116-138.

- a. Cousin and heir.

Table C - Notes (Cont.)Dawtre

- a. Mouseley, 494, gives 1513 but John Dawtre and his son were both unknighthed in 1524 and the father was still unknighthed when the commission of the peace was drawn up in February 1526. He was knighted by the time he was pricked for sheriff in November: Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex, 1524-25, ed. J. Cornwall (Sussex Record Society, lvi), 39; L.P. iv. 2002, 2672. Probably knighted during the king's progress: L.P. iv. 2368.
- b. Knighted after having been pricked for sheriff: P.R.O. Sheriffs. Mouseley, 494-5 and Berry, Sussex, 46-47, confuse this man with his father who had died by 1544.
- c. Half-brother and heir.

Ernley

E. Foss, Judges of England, v. 161; Swales, ii. 143-8 for first half century.

- a. Died a ward.
- b. Brother and heir: a ward at brother's death and did not get his estates until about 1568.

Fynes

Berry, Sussex, 331.

Gage

Swales, ii. 181-197; Vis. Sx. 9.

- a. Knighted by 1519.
- b. Inaccurately styled knight on the subsidy commission for 1550: C.P.R. 1553 & Appendix 1547-53, 359. He remains an esquire on other documents until 1555: E 179/190/238; C.P.R. 1553-4, 24; Shaw, i. 69.

Goring

Berry, Sussex, 138.

- a. The most likely date, as Henry VIII was on progress: L.P. iv (2), 2368. His funeral was on 11 March 1555: Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J.G. Nichols (Camden Soc. xlii), 57-58.
- b. Vis. Sx. 45-46 and Berry, Sussex, 138, call this man a knight but the commissions of the peace of 1596 and 1601 do not.

Hussey

Swales, ii. 269-276 on first of the two Henrys.

- a. Brother and heir.



Table C - Notes (Cont.)Jeffray

Berry, Sussex, 156.

- a. Vis. Sx. 13 gives 1544 but Richard was still alive in 1547:  
E 179/190/225. Berry's date is thus preferred.

Lewkenor

Vis. Sx. 26-29 and S.A.C. iii. 96-99 give a knighthood to Roger, the brother of Sir Thomas of Trotton. In fact, he died an esquire: Comber, Lewes, 153. With this exception, I have followed Dr. Mauseley's reconstructed genealogy of the various branches of this family.

- a. Younger brother of Thomas of Tangmere and Fyning; knighted  
29 March 1600: C.S.P. Dom. 1598-1601, 415.

Marvyn

- a. Connected with Sussex only from c. 1541; a younger son of Walter, of Fountain, Wilts.

Owen

Vis. Sx. 95, 122; W.H. St. John Hope, Cowdray and Easbourne Priory in the county of Sussex, 11-19, 114-7; J.C. Wedgwood, History of Parliament, Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509, 654-5.

- a. Between July 1535 when will made and May 1542 when will proved: P.C.C. 6 Spert. Hope, op. cit. 106 favours late 1535, the editors of L.P. xii (1) suggest 'by January 1537' (p. 55, n.)
- b. The last trace of him in L.P. No other method of dating death has yielded fruit; his son is said to have died in Flanders but again no date has been found.

Oxenbridge

S.A.C. viii. 230-1.

- a. Son by second marriage. The line from the first marriage produced no knights. Knighted by 1554: Sussex Manors, Advowsons, etc., Recorded in the Fect of Fines, 1509-1883, ii. ed. E.H.W. Dunkin (Sussex Record Society, xx), 309.

Palmer of Angmering

- a. No evidence of the knighthood he is given in Vis. Sx. 24: an esquire 1515, died 1516: L.P. ii. 1106.
- b. His younger brothers were both knighted, but Sir Thomas was executed and Sir Henry resided in Kent: D.N.B.

Table C - Notes (Cont.)Palmer of Parham

J.W. Fitzwilliam, Parham in Sussex, 40-53.

- a. Younger brother of Edward of Angmering.
- b. Aged 12 in 1586; knighted by 1596. Probably ceased to reside in Sussex by 1597 and was residing in Somerset by 1601.

Parker

Vs. Sr. 22; Berry, Sussex, 12.

- a. Date of Edward's death undetermined. John's death: S.A.C. lxxx. 137.
- b. Not to be confused with the military commander of the same name who was knighted 1588: see above, p. 288, n.5.

Pelham

Berry, Sussex, 314.

- a. Between Feb. 1526 and Feb. 1528. Probably in August 1526 during a royal progress through the county: L.P. iv (1), 2002 g.11; (2), 3894, 2368. Date of death: D.N.B. (Sir Edmund).
- b. Uncle and heir.

Poole

S.A.C. xxi. 73-89. D.N.B. (Sir Geoffrey). Not connected with Sussex until acquisition of Lordington c. 1530, and probably losing interest in the county by c. 1585.

- a. An approximation. S.A.C. xxi, 85 gives 'before 1510', D.N.B. has 1558, but he was still alive in 1564: S.A.C. xxi, 74, 84-85. For the date of Sir Richard's death: Shaw, i. 19.

Sackville

Swales, ii. 388-91, 397-407 up to 1566.

Shelley

Berry, Sussex, 62.

- a. No evidence for the knighthood Berry gives him.
- b. D.N.B.
- c. Aged 13 in 1550.
- e. Brother and heir.

Table C - Notes (Cont.)Shirley

D.W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant.

- a. Between 1524 and 1527, probably during the progress of 1526:  
L.P. iv (1) 819, (2) 3540 g.21, 2368. Date of death: Swales, ii. 424.
- b. His younger brother, Anthony, had a French knighthood disallowed by Elizabeth: see above, pp. 119-20.

West

G.E.C. iv. 155-60.

Wyndsor

V.C.H. Sussex, iv. 15; G.E.C. xii (2), 793 note j.

- a. Still alive late 1549 when subsidy commission drawn up: E 179/190/238.
- b. Completed sale of Harting in 1559. Date of death undetermined.

Table D  
Summonses for knighthood

Letters Missive	General Summons	To be knighted on	Ceremonial Occasions	Sources
Date unknown			Coronation Henry VII 30 October 1485.	<u>Camden Soc.</u> xxi. 3.
	14 Dec. 1486	4 Feb. 1487		Hughes & Larkin, i. 9.
Date unknown			Coronation Queen Elizabeth 24 November 1487.	Anstis, App. 37.
Date unknown. Assumed.			Creation of Arthur Prince of Wales 29 November 1489.	E 198/4/20 (fines for those not knighted on this date).
20 Sept. 1494		31 Oct. 1494	Creation of Henry Duke of York 31 October 1494.	C.C.R. 1485-1500, 797. E 405/79, m.3.
	9 Mar. 1500	29 Sept. 1500		Hughes & Larkin, i. 48. (C.C.R. 1485-1500, 1117 gives 28 May as date for knighthood but this is date for returns to be in: C 54/360, m.5b.) Add. MS.34148, f.171. E 159/277 Mich. 1500, Comm. E 198/4/23.
	7 Dec. 1500	2 Feb. 1501		Hughes & Larkin, i. 49. C.P.R. 1494-1500, 230. E 198/4/23 E 159/277, Hil. 1501, Comm.

Table D (Continued)

Letters Missive	General Summons	To be knighted on	Ceremonial Occasions	Sources
	? 1501	15 Aug. 1501		E 198/4/19 E 159/280 Mich. 1501, Comm.
Date unknown			Marriage of Arthur 14 November 1501.	E 198/4/20 Harl. MS. 6166, ff. 50-64.
	? early 1503	? early 1503		The writ of Dec. 1503 speaks of a previous writ and the sheriff of Cornwall answering the December writ divided his return in two: those previously returned, and new names: E 198/4/22.
Date unknown	14 Dec. 1503	2 Feb. 1504		Hughes & Larkin, i. 53. C.P.R. 1494-1509, 357. E 198/4/21 & 22. E 198/4/20.
			Creation of Henry Prince of Wales 18 February 1504	
Date unknown	Y2 May 1509	24 June 1509	Coronation of Henry VIII, 24 June 1509	E 198/4/27.  Some K.Bs not in returns must have been summoned by letters missive.
	? 1530-2	? before Sept. 1532.		SP 1/72, ff. 156-7; G.R. Elton, <u>Tudor Revolution in Government</u> , Appendix II A.

Table D (Continued)

Letters Missive	General Summons	To be knighted on	Ceremonial Occasions	Sources
	26 April 1533	22 May 1533	Coronation of Queen Anne, 29 May 1533.	Add. MS. 34148, f. 173.
Date unknown				Harl. MS. 41, f. 13.
	? 1537	? 21 Oct. 1537	Proposed coronation of Queen Jane, 21 October 1537.	Talbot's fines: SP 4/104, ff. 293b, 294; cf. E 101/521/28, m.8.
Blanks prepared				L.P. Addenda, i (1), 1262.
	30 Nov. 1546	2 Feb. 1547	Proposed creation of Edward Prince of Wales.	Add. MS. 34148, ff. 174-5.
Memo that letters be directed				Anstis, App. 50.
			Coronation of Edward VI. 20 February 1547.	
	? 2-15 Feb. 1547	2 Feb 'next' - 1548		C.P.R. 1547-8, 185-6.
Date unknown	Date unknown		Coronation of Queen Mary, 1 Oct. 1553.	C.P.R. 1553-4, 78; Anstis, App. 51-52.
Date unknown	Date unknown		Coronation of Queen Elizabeth 15 January 1559.	C.P.R. 1558-60, 71, 118; Anstis, App. 56-57.

Table ESubsidy Tables, Lancashire

- (i) Name underlined signifies a man later knighted  
by a Tudor.
- (ii) Only knightly families included.

1523/4<sup>1</sup>

- 150 Sir William Molyneux<sup>2</sup>
- 100 Sir Peter Leigh; Thomas Langton
- 80 Thomas Butler
- 66 Sir Richard Houghton;<sup>3</sup> Sir Alexander Radcliffe;  
Sir Richard Bold; Richard Ashton; Edmund Trafford
- 60 Sir Thomas Gerard<sup>4</sup>
- 55 Robert Hesketh
- 50 Thomas Halsall<sup>5</sup>
- 40 Sir Alexander Osbaldestone; Sir John Townley; John Booth;  
Henry Farrington; Ralph Standish
- 30 Sir William Leyland; Roger Bradshaw; William Norris
- 26 Sir Thomas Southworth

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/130/79-88, 90, 91, 96.

<sup>2</sup> £100 in E 179/130/88.

<sup>3</sup> £106 in E 179/130/85.

<sup>4</sup> He had just died; his wife was assessed at £20 and his feoffees at £40.

<sup>5</sup> £30 in E 179/130/84.



c. 1550<sup>1</sup>

- 60 Sir Richard Houghton; Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn
- 50 Sir Thomas Langton; Sir Henry Farrington; Sir Edmund Trafford;  
Sir Peter Leigh; Sir Marmaduke Tunstall; Richard Molyneux
- 40 Sir Thomas Butler; Sir William Radcliffe
- 30 Sir William Norris
- 26 Sir John Holcroft; Sir John Atherton
- 20 Sir Richard Townley; Sir Thomas Holt; Sir Robert Langley;  
John Booth
- 15 Henry Halsall

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/131/170, 172, 173, 174.

1563<sup>1</sup>

120	Sir Richard Molyneux; Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn
96	Sir Thomas Hesketh
80	Sir Peter Leigh; <u>Edmund Trafford</u> ; Thomas Houghton
60	Sir William Radcliffe
50	Sir Richard Sherburne; Sir Thomas Langton; Sir John Atherton
40	Sir William Norris; John Osbaldestone; Henry Halsall; <u>Thomas Butler</u>
26	Sir John Southworth; John Townley; Thomas Leyland
24	Edmund Standish
20	Sir Robert Worsley; Sir John Holcroft; Edward Holland
17	Roger Bradshaw
16	John Booth
15	Richard Ashton
10	George Ireland

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/250/2.

1577<sup>1</sup>

- 100 Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn
- 60 Sir Richard Sherburne; Edmund Trafford
- 50 Sir Thomas Butler; Sir Thomas Hesketh; Richard Bold
- 40 John Radcliffe
- 26 Sir John Southworth; John Townley
- 22 Sir John Holcroft; Edward Osbaldestone
- 20 Richard Holland; Francis Holt; Edward Standish; Francis Tunstall
- 17 Roger Bradshaw; Thomas Preston
- 15 Richard Ashton
- 13 George Ireland; Edward Norris
- 10 Sir Robert Worseley

---

<sup>1</sup> Proby MS. Transcript.

1581<sup>1</sup>

100	Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn
90	Sir John Byron
70	Sir Peter Leigh
60	Sir Richard Shirburne; Sir Edmund Trafford
50	Sir Thomas Hesketh; Sir John Radcliffe; Richard Bold; Alexander Houghton
40	<u>Richard olyneux</u> ; Francis Tunstall
36	Edward Butler
26	Sir John Southworth; John Townley
22	Sir John Holcroft; Edward Osbaldestone
20	Richard Ashton; Richard Brereton; Edward Standish; Richard Holland
17	Roger Bradshaw
13	George Ireland
10	Sir Robert Worsley

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/131/234, 235.

c. 1599<sup>1</sup>

- 75 Richard Sherburne
- 66 Sir Richard Molyneux; Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn; Sir Thomas Gerard  
of Astley
- 50 Richard Bold
- 40 Thomas Langton; Francis Tunstall; Peter Leigh  
39 Robert Kesketh
- 33 Sir Alexander Radcliffe; Sir John Radcliffe  
32 Sir Cuthbert Halsall
- 30 Nicholas Moseley
- 26 Thomas Southworth; John Osbaldestone  
25 Sir Richard Houghton
- 20 Sir Richard Southworth; Richard Holland; Richard Brereton;  
Richard Ashton; Edward Standish
- 15 Edmund Trafford; Francis Holt
- 13 John Ireland; Edward Norris

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/131/258, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 269, 272, 273.  
E 179/131/258 is for 36 Elizabeth and has been used only for names not  
found in other rolls. Where a name occurs in two places, the one nearest  
to 1599 has been used.

Table FSubsidy Tables, Norfolk

- (i) A name underlined signifies a man later knighted by a Tudor.
- (ii) Only knightly families included.

1523/4<sup>1</sup>

- 400 Sir Roger Townshend; Sir Jn. Heydon
- 300 Sir Thomas Bedingfield; Sir William Paston
- 200 Sir John Shelton
- 180 Sir Edward Knyvett; Walter Hobart
- 166 Henry Farmer
- 140 Sir Thomas Woodhouse of Kimberley
- 110 John Tyndale
- 100 Sir Thomas Blennerhassett; Sir Edmund Bedingfield
- 66 Sir Thomas Lovell; Sir John Audley (but £100 in Anticipation);  
Thomas Godsalve
- 60 Christopher Jenney (goods)
- 50 John Corbett (goods)
- 43 Thomas Gawdy (goods)
- 40 Sir Christopher Heydon; Sir James Boleyn; Thomas Clere of  
Stokesby (goods); Francis Lovell
- 

<sup>1</sup> E 179/150/202-6, 209, 210-219, 221, 223, 226, 236, 239, 246, 251, 257,  
262-3, 265, 267-8, 277, 280, 281.

c. 1550

- 600g Sir Thomas Paston (London: E 179/145/174, r. 13)
- 410g Sir John Heydon
- 400 Sir William Paston
- 243 Sir James Boleyn
- 200 Sir John Clere of Ormesby; Sir Thomas Clere of Stokesby;  
Sir Edmund Knyvett
- 176 Henry Hobart (110g)
- 170 Sir William Farmer
- 160 Roger Woodhouse of Kimberley; Thomas Tyndale
- 110g Sir Edmund Wyndham
- 100 Sir William Woodhouse of Hickling; Thomas Woodhouse of Waxham;  
John Shelton
- 70 Nicholas Lestrangle
- 70g Sir Anthony Heveningham
- 66 Edmund Audley
- 60 Thomas Gawdy
- 50 John Corbett (90g)
- 40 Thomas Sharnebourne
- 40g Edward Waldegrave (Mary's household: E 179/69/65)
- 26 John Jenney.

---

Nil Sir William Butts

<sup>1</sup> E 179/151/333, 343-50, 359, 361, 362, 364-9, 375, 377, 381; E 179/145/174 r. 13; E 179/69/65; assessments on land unless otherwise noted. Assessment on goods noted beside landed assessment only in cases of wild discrepancy.



1577<sup>1</sup>

200 Sir Christopher Heydon

80 Edward Clere of Ormesby; Dru Drury

72 Roger Townshend of Rainham

70 Thomas Townshend of Braconash

60 William Blennerhassett

46 Roger Wyndham

40 Sir Nicholas Lestrangle; Henry Woodhouse of Waxham; Roger Woodhouse of Kimberley; William Paston; Thomas Knyvett of Buckenham; Thomas Lovell; John Spelman; Sir Thomas Tyndale; Henry Doyley; Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe; Bassingbourne Gawdy (Elizabeth's household: E 179/69/93).

36 Miles Corbett

33 Thomas Gawdy of Claxton

30 Edward Waldegrave; Edmund Audley

26 Thomas Godsalue

20 Thomas Clere of Stokesby; Sir William Butts; Thomas Farmer; James Hobart.

10 Edward Paston (heir of Sir Thomas).

---

<sup>1</sup> Proby MS. Transcript.

1587<sup>1</sup>

- 100 Sir Edward Clere of Ormesby
- 80 Sir Robert Southwell; Thomas Lovell
- 65 Sir William Paston; Sir Henry Woodhouse of Waxham; Sir William Heydon.
- 60 Sir Thomas Gawdy of Claxton
- 50 Sir John Peyton; Henry Doyley
- 40 Thomas Townshend of Braconash
- 30 Sir Arthur Heveningham
- 20 William Blennerhassett

---

<sup>1</sup> Bodl. Tanner MS. 241, f. 32b, assessments of subsidy commissioners only.

C. 1596 (36-40 Eliz.)<sup>1</sup>

- 60     Robert Mansell
- 50     Thomas Lovell; Roger Wyndham; Sir Robert Southwell.
- 40     Sir William Paston; Edward Paston; Thomas Knyvett of Buckenham
- 35     Miles Corbett
- 30     Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe; Sir John Peyton; Sir William  
Heveningham; Sir Dru Drury; Sir Henry Woodhouse of Waxham;  
Sir Edward Clere; Henry Doyley; Philip Woodhouse of Kimberley.
- 25     Henry Gawdy of Claxton
- 20     Sir Christopher Heydon; Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy of West Harling;  
Sir John Townshend of Rainham; Clement Spelman; Henry Townshend  
of Braconash; Thomas Farmer.
- 10     Philip Audley; Thomas Southwell.

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/152/448, 449, 464-71, 473, 476, 477, 479-84, 493-5, 500, 510;  
Hatfield MS. 278, ff. 66-68.

Table GSubsidy Tables, Sussex

- (i) A name underlined signifies a man later knighted by a Tudor.
- (ii) Only knightly families included.

1523-4<sup>1</sup>

- 460 Sir Roger Lewkenor
- 400 Sir David Owen
- 300 Roger Copley
- 200 Sir Goddard Oxenbridge; Sir Thomas West; John Dawtrey;  
John Shelley.
- 180 Richard Covert
- 123 Richard Sackville.
- 120 Sir Thomas Fynes; Richard Shirley
- 100 Sir Edward Bray; John Palmer of Angmering.
- 88 Sir Anthony Browne
- 65 John Parker
- 40 Henry Hussey
- 26 William Goring; William Ernley
- 18 Edmund Lewkenor

---

<sup>1</sup> Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex, 1524-5, ed. J. Cornwall  
(Sussex Record Society, lvi); E 179/69/2.

c. 1550<sup>1</sup>

- 400 Sir William Shelley (d. 1549)
- 140 Sir William Goring; John Palmer of Angmering
- 120 Sir John Dawtrey (d. 1549)
- 100 Sir Anthony Windsor; John Covert; John Caryll; William Shirley  
(50 + 50 in right of wife).
- 80 Sir Nicholas Pelham
- 69 Sir Richard Sackville
- 66 Sir Geoffrey Poole; John Parker.
- 42 Thomas Palmer of Parham
- 40 Sir Henry Hussey
- 25 Sir Edward Bellingham (d. 1550)
- 20 John Hussey (brother and heir of Sir Henry); Richard Jeffray.

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/190/225, 233, 234, 238, 239; all assessments come from 38H8 on lands. The assessments of 3E6 on goods tend to be lower.

c. 1560<sup>1</sup>

200 Sir Edward Gage

100 John Caryll; Richard Covert

66 William Shelley

40 John Hussey

30 Henry Marvyn; Thomas Parker

10 Richard Lewkenor

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/190/264-9.

1572<sup>1</sup>

100 William Shelley

66. Sir Thomas Palmer of Parham; Richard Covert; John Gage;  
Thomas Palmer of Angmering

60 Henry Goring

50 William Dawtrey

40 John Pelham; Thomas Shirley

30 Richard Ernley; John Jeffray, Henry Marvyn; Thomas Parker;  
Edward Caryll, guardian of John of Warnham; assessed at Warnham]

20 John Fynes

15 Thomas Lewkenor

10 John Hussey

---

<sup>1</sup> E 179/190/83.



1577<sup>1</sup>

- 100 William Shelley
- 66 Sir Thomas Palmer of Angmering; John Gage
- 60 Sir Thomas Shirley; Richard Covert; Henry Goring
- 50 William Dawtrey
- 40 Sir John Pelham
- 30 John Jeffray; Thomas Parker
- 20 Richard Ernley; Richard Lewkenor; John Fynes; Henry Marvyn;  
Thomas Lewkenor
- 16 Sir Thomas Palmer of Parham
- 15 John Hussey
- 10 Geoffrey Poole

---

<sup>1</sup> Proby MS. Transcript.

1588<sup>1</sup>

100 Sir Henry Goring; Sir Thomas Shirley; John Caryll; Walter Covert;  
Thomas Pelham. (Nine other men also paid £100)

40 John Shelley (brother and future heir of William who was at this  
date in prison)

30 Richard Ernley.

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Sussex Gentry in 1588', ed. M.A. Lower, S.A.C. i (1848), 34-37.

c. 1595<sup>1</sup>

100 Sir Thomas Shirley

70 Sir Walter Covert.

60 Sir Henry Goring (crossed out); William Goring

30 Sir Nicholas Parker; Richard Lewkenor

---

<sup>1</sup> Hatfield MS. 278.

Knights made in the parliament time, 1529-1601

Date	Name	Source	Date of Session	M.P.
Parliament 'In the Parliament time, 1529.'	Shaw lists 39 men under this title. Only the following have been identified as m.p.'s. William Husec Geoffrey Pole Robert Payton Richard Greenfielde Philip Butler John Russell Anthony Babington	Shaw, ii.47-48.	4 Nov-17 Dec. 1529	Grantham Wilton Cambs. Cornwall Herts. Worcesters. or Bucks. Nottingham
	None known	<u>Ibid.</u> 48	16 Jan-31 Mar. 1531	
	None known	<u>Ibid.</u>	15 Jan-28 Mar. 1532	
	None known	<u>Ibid.</u>	10 Apr-14 May 1532	
	None known	<u>Ibid.</u> 49-50	4 Feb-7 Apr. 1533	
	None known	<u>Ibid.</u> 50	15 Jan-30 Mar. 1534	
	None known	<u>Ibid.</u>	3 Nov-18 Dec. 1534	
	None known	<u>Ibid.</u>	4 Feb-14 Apr. 1536	

(continued)

Table H (Continued)

Parliament of 1536	July 18 1536 'at the breaking up of Parliament'	Thomas lord Cromwell ____ Powlett	<u>Ibid.</u> 50	8 Jun-18 Jul. 1536	Probably Taunton: History of Parliament trust.
Parliament of 1539	Before 8 July, 1540 Feb.-Aug. 1540 (After 1538, Nov. 15)	Robert Bowes Richard Southwell Anthony Kyngeston Shaw, ii. 50-52, lists in addition to these a further 44, all under the uncertain heading '[?] after 1538, Nov. 15' A number of these were m.p.'s but were not knighted while parlia- ment was in session. It is impossible to determine whether any burgesses were knighted during this parliament as the returns have not survived.	L.P.xv. 942 g.41 <u>Ibid.</u> 282 g.6; E 159/319 Shaw, ii. 51 1540	28 Apr-23 May 1539 30 May-28 Jun. 1539 12 Apr-11 May 1540 25 May-24 Jul. 1540	Yorks. Norfolk Gloucestershire
Parliament of 1542	'At the Par- liament, anno 33.	Richard (a mistake for Robert) Southwell (16 Jan.in Wriothesley i. 133) Edmund Marvyn Edward North William Denham (2 Feb.in Wriothesley, i. 133) Richard Edgcombe John Guildford John Harington William Willoughby	<u>Ibid.</u> 53	16 Jan-1 Apr. 1542	Surrey Cambridge Kent, 1543 after knighthood Rutland

Table H (Continued)

<p>(18 May after Parl. in Wriothesly, i. 135)</p> <p>16 Jan. in Parl. Chamber</p> <p>2 Feb. at Westminster</p> <p>2 Feb. ( ? 1542)</p>	<p>Thomas Moyle Walter Herbert Thomas Johanes William Vaughan Robert Acton (Edmund Peckham { Rowland Hyll { George Cotton Reignold Scott John Candyshe Richard Pollard (with Rob. Southwell, above) Michael Dormer (with W. Denham, above) John Dawney John Arundel of Trevise John Cotes</p>	<p><u>Ibid.</u></p> <p>Wriothesley i. 133 <u>Ibid.</u> Shaw, ii. 53</p>		<p>Kent</p> <p>Pembroke</p> <p>Southwark</p>
<p>1543</p>	<p>William Herbert Robert Tyrwhite William Peter John Fogge</p>	<p><u>Ibid.</u> 54</p>	<p>22 Jan-13 May 1543</p>	<p>Wilton</p>
<p>( ? 1543-4)</p>	<p>William Paget Foulke Grevell Richard Manners Edward Stradlinge Rauff Ellercar</p>		<p>14 Jan-28 Mar. 1544</p>	<p>Leicestershire</p> <p>Yorkshire</p>

Table H (Continued)

Parliament of 1545 (After 1545, Nov. 22) At the Parliament anno 37 anno 37	John Dawtrie Thomas Bromley John Hinde  Michael Stanhope Richard Rede John Perpent Francis Barnarde John Pakyngton	<u>Ibid.</u> 58	23 Nov-24 Dec 1545	Notts.
Parliament of 1547 (? 1547, Nov.) Nov. 24 at Westminster 1547	John Jermyn James Bascarville James Croftes Anthony Cope Robert Curson	<u>Ibid.</u> 63	4 Nov-24 Dec. 1547	Herefordshire
(? 1548, Dec.) 1 Dec. at Westminster  ? Feb. 17 1549 1549, Mar. 3 at Westminster	Henry Wharton William Cobbam Thomas Cornwalls Richard Corbett Henry Amcottes Thomas Stradlinge William Locke John Awlyf John Cut	<u>Lit. Rem.</u> ii. 365 <u>Shaw</u> , ii. 63	24 Nov 1548- 14 Mar 1549	Hythe Suffolk
?  ? ? Nov. 1549 1549, Nov 10 at Westminster	Thomas Gargrave Richard Sackville John Yorke John de la Zouche John Pollarde Arthur Champernoun	<u>Ibid.</u> 64.	4 Nov. 1549- 1 Feb. 1550	Yorks. Chichester Hindon Barnstable

Table H (Continued)

<p>After Nov. 12, 1549 Nov. 17, 1549 at Westminster</p>	<p>John More Thomas Woodhouse William Herbert Walter Herbert Edmund Wyndham John Bouchier  Thomas Wyatt, jun.  James Dyer (Oct-Dec 1552: <u>D.N.B.</u>; after June 1553: <u>Lit. Rem.</u> ii. 569)</p>	<p><u>Ibid</u></p>		<p>Monmouthshire          Kent (probably final session only: in France till Nov. 1550: <u>D.N.B.</u>) <u>Cambridgeshire.</u></p>
	<p>Shaw lists a further 31 under [?] After 1549 none of whom were m.p.'s. 4 men under this heading who have tentative dates given in Shaw were m.p.'s but their knighthoods did not coincide with a session.</p>			
	<p>None known</p>		<p>23 Jan-15 Apr. 1552</p>	

(continued)



Table H (Continued)

Parliament of 1553	14 m.p.'s were knighted at the coronation, 3 days before parliament opened and two more on 19 Oct. Altogether, 95 knights were made during the coronation celebrations	Ibid. 66-68	5-21 Oct. 1553
Parliament of 1554 (i)	None known		2 Apr-5 May 1554
Parliament of 1554 (ii)	None known		12 Nov 1554-16 Jan 1555
Parliament of 1555	After Nov 11 1555	Ibid. 69	21 Oct-9 Dec. 1555
Parliament of 1558	None known		20 Jan-7 Mar. 1558
Parliament of 1559	58-59 Jan. 1559 After Jan. 59 1559 1559	Tbid. 70.	23 Jan-8 May 1559
Parliament of 1563	Nov 27 1566 at Tower Jan 2 1567 at Parliament House		Jan 11-Apr 10 1563 Sept 30 1566-Jan 2 1567

Table H (Continued)

Parliament of 1571	None known		2 Apr-29 May 1571	
Parliament of 1572	Walter Waller	<u>Ibid.</u> 75.	8 May-30 June 1572	
Feb 19 1576 Whitehall	Ambrose Nicholas	<u>Ibid.</u> 77.	Feb 8-Mar 15 1576	
Mar 25 1576 Westminster	Richard Rogers John Killigrew William Courtney		N.B. 10 days after session ended	Dorset Penryn
Feb 5 1581 Westminster	John Branche	<u>Ibid.</u> 81.	16 Jan-18 Mar. 1581	
Parliament of 1584	Walter Raleigh Thomas (Edward) Pullyson Moyle Finche Henry Berkeley	<u>Ibid.</u> 83.	23 Nov 1584- 29 Mar 1585	Devon  Somerset
Parliament of 1586	Anthony Spillman Edward Wingfield Henry Constable Thomas Gorges Richard Malory	<u>Ibid.</u> 84.	29 Oct 1586- Mar 28 1587	

Table H (Continued)

1587	Henry Nowell George Bond Lewis Dyve John Marners John Roper Henry Poole	<u>Ibid.</u> 85.		
At Richmond				
Parliament of 1589	Thomas Shirley, jun. William Bevill William Leigh John Leveson Thomas Lloyd alias Fludd Richard Martin William Sackville	<u>Ibid.</u> 87.	4 Feb-29 Mar. 1589	
<u>[1588]</u> 1589				
Parliament of 1593	None known		19 Feb-10 Apr. 1593	
Parliament of 1598	Jonathan Trelawny William Strowde George More of the West	<u>Ibid.</u> 95.	24 Oct 1597- 9 Feb 1598	Devon
Parliament of 1601	_____ Leigh	<u>Ibid.</u> 99.	27 Oct-19 Dec. 1601	

Table I  
Numbers of Knights and Non-Knights Elected to Parliament  
1472-1601<sup>1</sup>

Date	Counties		Boroughs <sup>2</sup>	
1472	22/72	30%	5/208	2%
1477	20/74	27%	3/214	1. %
1491 <sup>3</sup>	39/74	53%	3/220	1.3%
1495 <sup>4</sup>	32/51	63%	[1/68]	[4%]
1529 <sup>5</sup>	52/74	70.5%	15/234	6.4%
1539 <sup>6</sup>	37/66	56%		
1541	22/41	54%	4/78	5.1%
1547 <sup>7</sup>	44/76	58%	32/261	11.1%
1553	31/56	55.5%	15/164	9.1%
1553	35/66	53%	19/241	7.9%
1554	45/78	58%	14/282	5%
1554	28/63	43%	8/227	3.5%
1555	35/69	51%	21/260	8%
1558	39/78	48.5%	11/293	4.2%
1559 <sup>8</sup>	42/74	57%	33/289	10.5%
1562	31/75	39.5%	23/318	7.4%
1571 <sup>9</sup>	34/78	43%	9/331	3.2%
1572	24/78	30.5%	9/338	2.6%
1584 <sup>10</sup>	30/76	39%	12/335	3.6%
1586	32/78	41%	13/362	3.6%
1588/9	29/78	38%	13/360	3.6%
1592/3	41/78	53%	19/360	5.3%
1597	27/67	40%	23/335	6.9%
1601	38/78	50%	37/338	10.9%

Table I - Notes

1. Compiled from Parl. Rets. unless otherwise noted.
2. London included, although it was unique: Neale, Commons, 162-3, 274. Removing London's members from the borough figures normally makes a difference of less than 1 per cent; adding them to the county figures normally reduces the figure by 1-2 per cent.
3. Harl. MS. 2252, ff. 28-32b (printed in B.I.H.R. iii. 168-75).
4. J.C. Wedgwood, History of Parliament: Register of Ministers and Members of both Houses, 1439-1509, 576-82.
5. The list in Parl. Rets. dates from 1532. Members known to have been knighted after election have been counted as non-knights.
6. E 159/319 Brevia Retornabilia et Irretornabilia, Mich. r. [1-2]. Ex. inf. R. Schofield.
7. Deficiencies in Parl. Rets. have been made good from Hatfield MS. 207 (a list of members for the final session held January-April 1552). Members have been counted as knights only if they were so before election. This has not been determined in the case of four men (Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Robert Brandling, Sir George Howard) because they were knighted during the election period and the actual dates of their elections are unknown. They have been counted as knights in this table.
8. Supplemented by E 371/402 (1). Ex. inf. C. Challis.
9. Browne Willis, Nobilia Parliamentaria, iii. 79-87.
10. Supplemented by Browne Willis, op. cit. 99-107. Sadler and Cocke, members for Herts, were knights (as in Browne Willis). The Parl. Rets. have been ignored in this instance.

Table J  
Knights as Members of Parliament, 1491-1601

	Knighted county members <sup>1</sup>	% increase or decrease	Total knighted members <sup>2</sup>	% increase or decrease	Knights available	% increase or decrease	Knighted members Knights available	%
1491	43		49				49/225	22%
1495	53	+23%	67	+37%			67/225	30%
1500					225/50			
1523					336	+34%		
1529	55	+3.8%	96	+44%			96/320	30%
1550 <sup>3</sup>	45	-18%	99	+3%	539	+67%	99/539	18%
1572	24	-47%	34	-66%			34/247	14%
1577					247	-54%		
1600 <sup>4</sup>	38	+59%	79	+32%	310	+26%	79/310	25%

1. Adjusted for purposes of comparison. All figures assumed to be out of total of 78.
2. All figures assumed to be out of 440.
3. Figures for m.p.'s are for 1547.
4. Figures for m.p.'s are for 1601.

Table K  
Justices of the Peace, 1515-1601

	Date	Lancs.				Norfolk				Sussex			
		IA	IB	II	III	IA	IB	II	III	IA	IB	II	III
1	1515					15:10+2	2	9		6:4+2	10	8	
2	1531					13:9+1	8+1	6		14:9+4	6	8	
3	1538					15:11+1	8+2	9+2		15:13+2	11+1	17	
4	1543					16:14+1	9+1	19+2		12:5+1	15+1	20	
5	1547					15:15+3	10	16+2		11:6+1	11	28	
6	1554					20:12+1	6	8		9:5	6	27	
7	1558	20	13	7	12	15:10	4	14		6:5	9	26	
8	1562	14	5	5	11	12:7+1	3	6		4:2	8	13	
9	1575	7	4	6	17	6:2	9	11		4:3+1	8	15	
10	1579					16:11+2	6	20		4:3+1	7	13	
11	1585	11	4	13	20	11:10+1	7	21		2:1+2	8	22	
12	1590	8	5+1	13+1	24	10:10	9	17		3:1	5	16	
13	1596	7	5+1	14	26	15:11+1	4	24		7:3	3	19	
14	1601	9	4+1	14	26	17:15	3	34		7:3+2	5	30	

Column IA: Knights available.

IB: Knights on commission

II: Unknighted heads of knightly families on commission.

III: Non-knights of non-knightly families.

Notes: See next page.

Table K - Notes

1. L.P. ii (1), 1152, 1160. Additional figures viz: +2, signify knights on the commission who were primarily interested in another county and have not been included in the number of knights available. They have been considered, however, when discussing the knighted portion of the commission (pp.246-8). Dignitaries have been included only if resident. The 'knights available' column includes those knighted and those who died during the year unless otherwise stated.
2. Ibid. v. 166 gg.12, 17.
3. Ibid. xiii (1), 1519 g.50; 646 g.33.
4. Ibid. xx (1), pp. 315, 318-9.
5. C.P.R. 1547-8, 87, 90. Figures computed as before the coronation.
6. C.P.R. 1553-4, 22, 24. Sussex figures include Sir Anthony Browne who was elevated to the peerage this year.
7. DL 42/96, f. 209; Lansd. MS. 1218, ff. 22b-23b, 29b-30b.
8. 1564 for Lancs: 'A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council', ed. M. Bateson, Camden Miscellany, ix. 77-78; C.P.R. 1560-3, 440, 443.
9. SP 12/104, ff. 30, 63b, 111b.
10. SP 12/145, ff. 30, 40-40b.
11. 1584 for Lancs: R. Sharpe France, 'Lancashire Justices of the Peace in 1583', Trans. of the Historic Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, xcv, 131-3; Lansd. MS. 737, ff. 149b-150b, 158-158b.
12. 1592 for Lancs: Royal MS. 18 D III, f. 80b; 1591 for Norfolk: Smith, 371-81; Mauseley, 310.
13. 1598 for Lancs: Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records, 1. ed. J. Tait (Chetham Soc. N.S. lxxvii), pp. vi-vii; SP 13/Case F/11, ff. 25-26, 30-33.
14. Tait, op. cit. p. viii; C 66/1549.





Bibliography

.

## Bibliography

Place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.

### A. Primary Sources

#### 1. Manuscripts

Manuscripts used by W.A. Shaw, The Knights of England, are not listed here unless they were cited in the footnotes of this thesis. The reader is referred to Shaw, i. pp. ii-iii, viii-ix for a more comprehensive collection of lists of knights.

a. Barbican House Muniments, Lewes  
Gage MSS. Box 11.

b. Bodleian Library  
Tanner MS. 241. Gawdy papers.  
North MS. a. 2. Caesar papers.

c. British Museum  
Additional MSS.

4712	Statutes of the Order of the Garter presented to Francis I.
5482	Heraldic collections of Robert Wright, temp. Charles I.
5843	Miscellaneous collections.
6298	Materials relating to the Order of the Garter.
9019	Anstis' Collection for a history of the Court of Chivalry: volume on fees.
11764	Miscellaneous collection.
12453	Heraldic collection, 17th century.
12511	Collection including accounts of distraint proceedings <sup>and</sup> /precedents. 17th century.
12512	Collection mainly on the peerage, written 1632.
12530	The Plea betweene the Advocate and Ant'advocate, concerning the Bathe and Bachelor Knights ... by Francis Thynne. Presentation copy to James I.

- 21480 Household book of Henry VII kept by John Heron, 1499-1505.
- 32102 Heraldic collection, 18th century.
- 32104 Evidences of Lancashire gentry: transcripts of MSS. by Christopher Townley, 17th century.
- 34148 Part of a collection of materials for a history of the Cinque Ports and Dover Castle, 19th century.
- 34766 Heraldic collection, 19th century.
- 36303 Materials for a work on Chivalry by Thomas Willement. 19th century.
- 38133 Genealogical, legal and historical collection, 16th-17th century.
- 38139 Historical collections of Sir Peter Manwood: state papers and heraldic materials, mainly 1564-1618.

Cotton MSS.

- Claudius, C. iii. Knights, Henry VII-James I.
- Tiberius, E.viii. Heraldic materials.
- Faustina, C.viii. Heraldic Collection.

Egerton MSS.

- 2345 Justices of the peace and other officers, 1573-4.

Hargrave MSS.

- 216 Miscellaneous collections.
- 235 'Of knights and matters incident to the Degree of Knighthood according to the Laws of England'.

Harleian MSS.

- 38 Heraldic collection.
- 39 Miscellaneous collections.
- 41 Heraldic collection, temp. Henry VIII.
- 69 Heraldic collection.

78	Miscellaneous collection.
158	Miscellaneous collection.
235	Collections concerning Order of the Garter.
293	Collection containing heraldic material.
304	Collection containing materials on the Garter and peerage.
412	Precedence book.
474	Various commissions, c. 1585.
980	Historical collections of Thomas Gybbons.
983	Knights, 1560-1636.
1107	Heraldic collections written by William Penson.
1153	Heraldic collection, 17th century.
1156	Heraldic collection.
1354	Heraldic collection.
1474	Heraldic collection of John Withie.
1776	Heraldic collection.
1926	Collection of papers concerning Lancashire.
2252	Various collections, 15th-16th century, containing m.p.s; 7 Henry VII.
2413	Heraldic collection.
5177	Heraldic collection, 17th century.
6063	Collection of lists of knights and noblemen. 17th century.
6064	Heraldic collection.
6072	Miscellaneous collections including lists of knights and precedence tables.
6141	Heraldic collection.

- 6166 Heraldic collection, including the King's Book of all the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of England, 17 Henry VII.
- 6822 Collection of legal materials, (containing lists of justices assessed at less than £20 p.a.)

Lansdowne MSS.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| 32   | } | Burghley papers.  |
| 50   |   |   |
| 52   |   |   |
| 104  |   |   |
| 152  |   | Treasury and Privy Council papers, temp. James I (Caesar Papers).         |
| 253  |   | Miscellaneous collections including Noy's notes on distraint writs.       |
| 255  |   | Miscellaneous collections, mainly heraldic.                               |
| 678  |   | Lists of knights.   |
| 737  |   | Miscellaneous collection of Peter le Neve, including a Liber Pacis, 1584. |
| 1218 |   | Miscellaneous lists of officers, temp. Elizabeth I.                       |

Royal MSS.

- 18 D III. Maps of the counties of England and Wales together with the names of justices of the peace, etc.

Stowe MSS.

- 145 Collection of tracts and state papers, 1536-1628.
- 589 Treatises on nobility and knighthood, 17th century.
- 692 Alphabet of arms and other heraldic materials.
- 1046 Miscellaneous papers including treatise on knighthood and knighthood fines. 17th century.

1047

Commonplace book of Francis Thynne.

d. College of Arms MSS.

Old Partition Book Miscellaneous.

Partition Book temp. Henry VIII and Edward VI.

Partition Tpe. H.8. Usq. An. R. Eliz.

The Booke of Partition at a<sup>o</sup> 1583 ad ann. 1636. (Partition Book the 2nd).e. Hatfield House MSS.

207

278

f. Lancashire Record Office

Hesketh MS. 59/60.

Scaresbrick MS. 19/8.

g. Norfolk County Council MSS.

Elizabethan Quarter Sessions Minute Book.

h. Public Record OfficeAudit Office

A.O.1/1205      Declared Accounts, First Fruits and Tenths.

Chancery

C 54      Close Rolls

C 66      Patent Rolls

C 142      Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series II.

C 212/22      Miscellaneous Rolls (Petty Bag Office).  
Enrollment of names of subsidy commissioners,  
Philip and Mary-James I.

C 227      Petty Bag Office, Sheriffs' Rolls.

Duchy of Lancaster

DL 5	Entry Books of Decrees and Orders.
DL 7	Inquisitions Post Mortem.
DL 29/122-6	Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, Henry VII-Elizabeth.
DL 41/7	Miscellanea, Transcripts of Pleadings.
DL 42/96	Miscellaneous Books, Books of commissions, orders etc., Edward VI-Elizabeth.
DL 50	Estreats.

Exchequer

E 36/130 (11)	Treasurer's Remembrancer, Lists of knights in various counties, temp. Henry VIII.
E 101/123	King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts: Fines and Amercements.
E 101/413	King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts: Wardrobe and Household.
E 101/520	King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts: Miscellaneous.
E 101/589	King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts: Sheriffs Administrative Accounts.
E 115	King's Remembrancer, Certificates of Residence.
E 137	King's Remembrancer, Estreats.
E 159	King's Remembrancer, Memoranda Rolls.
E 179	King's Remembrancer, Lay Subsidy Rolls.
E 198/4	King's Remembrancer, Serjeanties, Knights Fees, etc. (Distrain lists).
E 368	Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Memoranda Rolls.
E 371	Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Originalia Rolls.
E 372	Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Pipe Rolls.
E 401	Exchequer of Receipt, Receipts, Enrollments and Registers.



E 405                      Exchequer of Receipt, Tellers Rolls.

Star Chamber

Sta. Cha. 4              Proceedings, Philip and Mary.

State Papers

SP 1                      State Papers, Domestic and Foreign, Henry VIII,  
General Series.

SP 4                      State Papers, Domestic and Foreign, Henry VIII,  
Signature by Stemp.

SP 9/31                  State Papers, Domestic and Foreign, Miscellaneous.

SP 10                    State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI.

SP 11                    State Papers, Domestic, Philip and Mary.

SP 12                    State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth.

SP 13                    State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth.

Proby MS. Transcript.      Transcript of the second payment of  
the lay subsidy granted 18 Elizabeth, from a  
MSS. in the possession of Mr. Granville Proby  
of Elton Hall. (Literary Search Room, 10/63).

i. Somerset House

Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

2. Printed

a. Contemporary literary works and diaries

R. Baker, Chronicle of the Kings of England (1679).

Book of the Ordre of Chivalry translated by William Caxton,  
ed. A.T.P. Byles (E.E.T.S. clxviii, 1926).

Boke of Noblesse, ed. J.G. Nichols (Roxburgh Club, lxxviii, 1860).

J. Branston, Autobiography of Sir John Branston, K.B., ed.  
P. Brassbrooke (Camden Society, xxxii, 1845).

R. Carey, Memoirs of Robert Carey, ed. H.G. Powell (1905).

Catalogue of Honour or Treasure of True Nobility (1610).

J. Clapham, Elizabeth of England: certain observations concerning the life and reign of Queen Elizabeth, ed. E. Plummer Read and C. Read. (Philadelphia, 1951).

E. Coke, The Second Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England. (1671).

E. Coke, The Reports of Sir Edward Coke. (7 vols. 1738).

'A copy of an original manuscript of Sir Francis Barnham', ed. T. Barrett Lennard, Ancestor, ix (1904), 191-209.

Cyville and Uncyville Life, (Inedited Tracts, W.C. Hazlitt, 1868).

S. D'Ewes, The Journals of all the Parliaments of the reign of Queen Elizabeth collected by Sir Simonds D'Ewes. (1682).

Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, ed. E. Lamond. (Cambridge, 1954).

E. Dudley, The Tree of the Commonwealth, ed. D.M. Brodie. (Cambridge, 1948).

T. Elyot, The Booke named The Gouvernour, ed. H.H.S. Croft. (2 vols, 1883).

T. Elyot, A preservative agaynste deth. (1545).

H. Gilbert, Queen Elizabeth's Achademy, ed. F.J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S. Extra Series viii, 1869).

Great Chronicle of London, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley. (1928).

S. Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure, ed. W.A. Mead (E.E.T.S. clxxiii, 1927).

R. Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland. (6 vols. 1807).

L. Humphrey, The Nobles or of Nobility. (1563).

Institution of a Gentleman. (1555).

Knighthode and Bataille, ed. R. Dyboski and Z.M. Arend (E.E.T.S. cci, 1935).

- J. Lydgate, Minor Poems, ed. H.N. MacCracken (E.E.T.S. Extra Series, cvii, cxcii, 1911-33).
- H. Machyn, Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J.G. Nichols (Camden Society xlii, 1848).
- F. Markham, Booke of Honour. (1625).
- G. Markham, Honour in his Perfection. (1624).
- R. Mulcaster, Positions. (1581).
- J. Nichols, Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth. (3 vols. 1823).
- H. Peacham, The Complete Gentleman, ed. V.B. Hettzel (New York, 1962).
- J. Rastell or J. Heywood, Gentleness and Nobility. (1950).
- T. Smith, De Republica Anglorum. (1584).
- E. Spenser, The Faerie Queen, ed. J.C.S. Smith (2 vols. Oxford, 1909).
- J. Stow, Annales, or a general chronicle of England. (1631).
- P. Vergil, Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537, ed. D. Hay (Camden Society, lxxiv, 1950).
- T. Wilson, The State of England Anno Domini 1600, ed. J. Fisher (Camden Miscellany, xvi, 1936).
- C. Wriothesley, Wriothesley's Chronicle during the reigns of the Tudors from A.D. 1485-1559, ed. W.D. Hamilton (Camden Society, xi & xx, 1875-7).
- b. Documents and Calendars
- (1) Concerning central government or of a general nature
- Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series, 1542-1604, ed. J.R. Dasent (32 vols. 1890-1907).
- Calendar of the Carew MSS. 1589-1600, ed. J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen (1869).
- Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved at the Public Record Office, Henry VII. (2 vols. 1955-63).

- Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry VII. (3 vols. 1898-1955).
- Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1631, ed. R. Lemon, M.A.E. Green, J. Bruce (16 vols. 1856-72).
- Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, 1509-1603, ed. H.C. Hamilton et al. (11 vols. 1860-1912).
- Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, 1485-1603, ed. G.A. Bergenroth et al. (24 vols. 1862-1899).
- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, 1509-1603, ed. R. Brown and H. Brown (10 vols. 1867-97).
- 'A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council', ed. M. Bateson, Camden Miscellany, ix. (1893).
- 'Compositions to avoid knighthood in 1 and 2 Mary', ed. E.P. Shirley, Herald and Genealogist, v (1890), 18-24.
- The Cowdray Archives ... A Catalogue, ed. A.A. Dibben. (Chichester, 1960).
- 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577', ed. R. Ryan et al. C.R.S. xxi (1921), 1-114.
- Foedera, ed. T. Rymer. (10 vols. The Hague, 1745).
- The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, ed. S. Anglo. (2 vols. Oxford, 1968).
- Historical Manuscripts Commission
- |                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| <u>Second Report</u>  | (1872). |
| <u>Third Report</u>   | (1872). |
| <u>Seventh Report</u> | (1879). |
| <u>Twelfth Report</u> | (1890). |
- Ancaster. (Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ancaster preserved at Grimsthorpe). (1907).

Foljambe. (Fifteenth Report, Appendix V, The Manuscripts of the Right Honourable F.J. Savile Foljambe of Oberton). (1897).

Gawdy. (Tenth Report, Appendix II, Report on the Manuscripts of the Family of Gawdy). (1885).

Kenyon, 1524-1837. (Fourteenth Report, Appendix IV, The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon). (1894).

Middleton. (Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire). (1911).

Rutland I. (Twelfth Report, Appendix IV, The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., preserved at Belvoir Castle, volume 1). (1888).

Sackville (Knole). (Calendar of the Manuscripts of Major General Lord Sackville, preserved at Knole. Volume 1, Cranfield Papers, 1551-1612). (1940).

Salisbury (Cecil) MSS. (Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House). (15 vols. to 1603, 1883-1930).

Verulam, 1154-1832. (Report of the Manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorhambury). (1906).

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. J.S. Brewer et al. (22 vols, 1862-1932).

'List of Members of the Fourth Parliament of Henry VII', ed. W. Jay, B.I.H.R. iiii (1926), 168-175.

Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth, ed. J.G. Nichols. (2 vols. 1857).

Miscellaneous: Recusant Records, ed. C. Talbot (C.R.S. liii. 1961).

Original Letters illustrative of English History, ed. H. Ellis. (11 vols. 1824-46).

Plumpton Correspondence, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Society, iv. 1834).

'Recusants and Priests, March 1588', ed. J.H. Pollen, C.R.S. xxi (1921), 120-129.

Recusant Roll, 1592-3, ed. M.M.C. Calthrop (C.R.S. xviii (1916)).

Register of the most noble Order of the Garter, ed. J. Anstis.  
(2 vols. 1724).

Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, xl. Appendix 4  
(1879).

Reports from the Lords' Committees touching the Dignity of a Peer  
of the Realm. (5 vols. 1829).

Rutland Papers, ed. W. Jordan (Camden Society, xxi. 1842).

Select Cases in the Exchequer of Pleas, ed. H. Jenkinson and  
B. Formoy (Seldon Society, xlviii. 1931).

State Papers: King Henry VIII. (11 vols. 1830-52).

Statutes of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. (1906).

Statutes of the Realm, ii-iv. (1816-29).

Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, 1485-1714, ed. R. Steele (2 vols.  
Oxford, 1910).

Tudor Royal Proclamations, ed. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin.  
(3 vols. 1964-9).

(ii) Of more local interest

Abstracts of Inquisitions Post Mortem, ii. ed. W.A. Langton  
(C.S. xcix. 1876).

'Certificate concerning the Justices of the Peace in Sussex in  
1587', ed. H. Ellis, S.A.C. ii (1849), 58-62.

J. Comber, Sussex Genealogies. Horsham Centre, Ardingly Centre,  
Lewes Centre. (3 vols. Cambridge, 1931-3).

Ducatus Lancastriae, Pars Prima, Calendrium Inquisitionum Post  
Mortem. (1823).

The Knyvett Letters, 1620-44, ed. B. Schofield (Norfolk Record  
Society, xx. Norwich, 1949).

Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories, ii. ed. G.J. Piccoppe  
(C.S. li. 1855).

The Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stuarts, ed.  
J. Harland (C.S. xlix, 1. 1859).

Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records, 1. ed. J. Tait (C.S. New  
Series, lxxvii. 1917).

Lay Subsidy Rolls for the County of Sussex, 1524-5, ed. J. Cornwall  
(Sussex Record Society, lvi. Lewes, 1956).

Letters of Philip Gawdy of West Harling, 1579-1610, ed. I.H. Jeayes  
(Roxburgh Club, cxlviii. 1906).

Letters of Sir Thomas Copley, ed. R.C. Christie (Roxburgh Club,  
cxxx. 1897).

'A list of freeholders in Lancashire in the year 1600', ed.  
J.P. Earwaller, Miscellanies Relating to Lancashire  
and Cheshire, 1 (Lancashire and Cheshire Record  
Society, xii. 1885).

Minutes and Proceedings in Session 1563, 1574-92, ed. H.C. Johnson  
(Wilts. Archaeological and Natural History Society,  
Records Branch, iv. Devizes, 1949).

Musters, Beacons, and Subsidies etc. of County of Northampton,  
A.D. 1586-1623, ed. J. Wake (Northants Record Society,  
iii. Kettering, 1926).

Pleadings and Depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster in the  
time of Henry VIII, ed. H. Fishwick (Lancashire and  
Cheshire Record Society, xxv. 1892).

Proceedings in Quarter Sessions, 1674-1682, ed. H.C. Johnson  
(Warwick County Records, viii. Warwick, 1953).

The Stanley Papers, ii. ed. F.R. Raines (C.S. xxxi. 1853).

Subsidy Rolls for the County of Buckinghamshire, Anno 1524, ed.  
A.B. Chibnall and A.V. Woodnam (Bucks. Record Society,  
viii. Bedford, 1944).

Sussex Manors, Advowsons etc. recorded in the Feet of Fines, ii.  
ed. E.H.W. Dunkin (Sussex Record Society, xx. 1915).

Suffolk in 1524, ed. S.H.A.H(ervey), (Suffolk Green Books, x.  
Woodbridge, 1910).

'Sussex Gentry in 1588', ed. M.A. Lower, S.A.C. 1 (1848), 32-37.

The Sixteenth Century Taxation Lists, 1545 and 1576, ed. G.D. Ramsay  
(Wilts. Archaeological and Natural History Society,  
Records Branch, x. Devizes, 1954).

The Visitation of Cheshire made in the Year 1580 by Robert Glover,  
ed. J.P. Rylands (Harleian Society, xviii. 1882).

The Visitation of Norfolk in the year 1563, ed. G.H. Dashwood et al.  
(2 vols. Norwich, 1878-95).

The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster made in the  
year 1613 by Richard St. George, ed. F.R. Raines  
(C.S. lxxxii. 1871).

The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the Years 1584/5 by Robert  
Glover, ed. J. Foster. (1875).

The Visitations of Norfolk, 1563, 1589, 1619, ed. W. Rye (Harleian  
Society, xxi. 1891).

The Visitations of Suffolk, 1561, 1577, 1612, ed. W.C. Metcalfe.  
(Exeter, 1882).

The Visitations of the County of Sussex, 1530 and 1633-4, ed.  
W.B. Bammerman (Harleian Society, liii. 1905).

The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster made in the  
Year 1664-5 by Sir William Dugdale, ed. F.R. Raines  
(C.S. lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxviii. 1872-3).

'Yorkshire<sup>men</sup> who declined to take up their knighthood', ed.  
W.J. Kaye, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xxxi  
(1934), 360-5.

## B. Secondary Sources

### 1. Works of reference, lists and indexes

Alumni Cantabrigie<sup>is</sup>ensis, Part 1, from earliest times to 1751, ed. J. Venn  
and S.A. Venn. (4 vols. Cambridge, 1922-7).

Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, ed. J. Foster. (Oxford, 1891-2).

T.G. Barnes & A. Hassell Smith, 'Justices of the Peace from 1558-1688 -  
A Revised List of Sources', B.I.H.R. xxxii (1959), 221-242.

A.B. Beaven, Aldermen of the City of London. (2 vols. 1908-13).



G.E. Cockayne, The Complete Peerage. (13 vols. 1910-59).

A. Collins, The Peerage of England. (9 vols. 1812).

Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen & S. Lee (27 vols. 1908-59).

E. Foss, Judges of England, v. 1485-1603. (1857).

J. Hadyn, Book of Dignities, ed. H. Ockerby. (1894).

E. Kimber and R. Johnson, Baronetage of England. (1771).

W.C. Metcalfe, A Book of Knights. (1885).

Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich, ed. M.A. Farrow (Norfolk Record Society, xxi. 1950).

Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. (6 vols to 1629, 1893-1912).

Index of Inquisitions, i. Henry VIII-Philip and Mary. (P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xxiii. 1907).

ii. Elizabeth (P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xxvi. 1908)

iii. James I (P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xxxi. 1909)

iv. Charles I and later, with Appendices (for Duchy of Lancaster). (P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xxxiii. 1909).

List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from earliest times to 1831. (P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, ix. 1898).

New English Dictionary. (10 vols. Oxford, 1888-1928).

Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, i. Admissions from 1420-1799. (1896).

Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889, ed. J. Foster. (1889).

Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, ed. H.A.C. Sturgess. (1949).

Return of Members of Parliament, i. Parliaments of England, 1213-1702. (1878).

W.A. Shaw, The Knights of England. (2 vols. 1906)

Students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660. (1877).

The Tudor Constitution, ed. G.R. Elton. (Cambridge, 1960).

Tudor Constitutional Documents, ed. J.R. Tanner (Cambridge, 1930).

J. Venn, Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, 1349-1897. (2 vols. Cambridge, 1897-8).

J.C. Wedgwood, History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House, 1439-1509. (1936).

History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and Members of both Houses, 1439-1509. (1938).

2. Works concerning central government or of a general nature

J. Anstis, Observations Introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath. (1725).

E. Ashmole, History of the most Noble Order of the Garter. (1715).

G.F. Beltz, Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. (1841).

W. Berry, Encyclopoedia Heraldica. (4 vols, 1828-40).

J.B. Black, The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603 (Oxford, 1959).

L. Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia, 1558-1638. (1967).

Browne Willis, Nolitia Parliamentaria. (3 vols, 1716-50).

M. Campbell, The English Yeoman under Elizabeth and the Stuarts. (New Haven, 1942).

F. Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England. (Chicago, 1954).

E.P. Cheyney, A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth. (2 vols. 1914-26).

J.P. Cooper, 'The social distribution of land and men in England, 1436-1700', Econ. H.R. Second Ser. xx (1967), 419-440.

J. Cornwall, 'The Early Tudor Gentry', Econ. H.R. Second Ser. xvii (1965), 456-471.

C.G. Cruickshank, Elizabeth's Army. (Second edition, Oxford, 1966).

, Army Royal. (Oxford, 1969).

- F.C. Dietz, English Government Finance, 1485-1558. (Urbana, 1920).
- C.R. Dodd, A Manual of Dignities, Privilege and Precedence. (1842).
- J. Doddridge, Judge Dodaridge His Law of Nobility and Peerage ... with The Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen and Yeomen; and matters Incident to them, according to the Lawes and Customes of England. (1658).
- G.R. Elton, The Tudor Revolution in Government. (Cambridge, 1953).
- Elizabethan Government and Society, Essays presented to Sir John Neale, ed. S.T. Bindoff et al. (1961).
- F.G. Emmison, Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home. (1961).
- A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry (Durham, N.C. 1960).
- W. Fitzherbert, A Short Enquiry into the Nature of the titles conferred at Portsmouth ... shewing the origin ... of Knights Banneret. (1779).
- From the Renaissance to the Counter Reformation. Essays in honour of Garrett Mattingly, ed. C.H. Carter. (1966).
- T. Fuller, History of the Worthies of England. (3 vols. 1662).
- J.H. Gleason, The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640. (Oxford, 1969).
- M. Greaves, The Blazon of Honour. (1964).
- J.H. Hexter, Reappraisals in History. (1961).
- J. Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards. (1958).
- W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660. (1959).
- C.H. Karraker, The Seventeenth Century Sheriff. (Chapel Hill, 1930).
- R. Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman. (Urbana, 1929).
- H. Leonard, 'Ferrers' Case: a Note', B.I.H.R. xlii (1969), 230-4.
- W.T. MacCaffrey, 'Talbot and Stanhope: an episode in Elizabethan Politics', B.I.H.R. xxxiii (1960), 73-85.
- 'England: the Crown and the Aristocracy, 1540-1600', Past and Present, xxx (1965), 52-64.

- J.D. Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558. (Oxford, 1952).
- M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century, 1307-99. (Oxford, 1959).
- H. Miller, 'London and Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII', H.I.H.R. xxxv (1962), 128-149.
- 'Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century', B.I.H.R. xxviii (1955), 15-34.
- J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons. (1949).
- Elizabeth I and her Parliament, 1559-1581. (1953).
- Elizabeth I and her Parliament, 1584-1601. (1957).
- A.P. Newton, 'The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors', E.H.R. xxxii (1917), 348-372.
- F.M. Nichols, 'On feudal and obligatory knighthood', Archaeologia, xxxix (1863), 189-244.
- N.H. Nicolas, History of the Orders of Knighthood. (4 vols. 1841-2).
- A.F. Pollard, The Evolution of Parliament. (1926).
- M. Powicke, Military Obligation in Medieval England. (Oxford, 1962).
- 'Distraint of knighthood and military obligation under Henry III', Speculum, xiv (1950), 457-70.
- W. Prest, 'The legal education of the gentry at the Inns of Court, 1560-1640', Past and Present, xxxviii (1967), 20-39.
- W.C. Richardson, A History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536-1554. (Baton Rouge, 1961).
- Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547. (Baton Rouge, 1952).
- J.S. Roskell, The Commons in the Parliament of 1422. (Manchester, 1954).
- J.J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII. (1968).
- J. Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England. (Cambridge, 1966).
- 'The Social Origins of Cambridge Students, 1603-1640', Past and Present, xxvi (1963), 58-67.

R. Somerville, 'Henry VII's "Council Learned in the Law"', E.H.R. liiv (1939), 427-442.

History of the Duchy of Lancaster, i. 1260-1603. (1953).

H. Spelman, Reliquiae Spelmaniae. (Oxford, 1698).

T. Stapleton, 'A brief summary of the Wardrobe Accounts of the tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth years of King Edward the Second', Archaeologia, xxvi (1836), 318-345.

L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641. (Oxford, 1965).

'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', Past and Present, xxviii (1964), 41-80.

'Inflation of Honours, 1558-1641', Past and Present, xiv (1958), 45-70.

R.C. Strong, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Order of the Garter', Archaeological Journal, cxix (1962), 245-269.

E.M. Tenison, Elizabethan England. (14 vols, Leamington Spa, 1933-61).

G. Scott Thomson, Lords Lieutenant in the Sixteenth Century. (1923).

'The origin and growth of the office of deputy lieutenant', T.R.H.S. 4th series, v. (1922), 150-66.

S.L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500. (Ann Arbor, 1948).

R. Virgoe, 'A list of Members of Parliament of February, 1449', B.I.H.R. xxxiv (1961), 200-210.

A. Wagner, Heralds of England. (1967).

S. & B. Webb, English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act. (8 vols. 1906-29).

P. Williams, The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I. (Cardiff, 1958).

J.S. Wilson, 'Sheriffs' Rolls of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', E.H.R. xlvii (1932), 31-45.

### 3. Works of local interest

W.A. Abram, History of Blackburn, Town and Parish. (Blackburn, 1877).

- J.J. Alexander, 'Devon County Members of Parliament, Part IV; The Tudor Period (1485-1603)', Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, xlvii (1915).
- F.H. Arnold, Lordington House: Its Owners and Associations, S.A.C. xxi (1869), 73-89.
- W. Beament, History of the House of Lyme. (Warrington, 1876).
- K. Bedingfield, The Bedingfields of Oxburgh. (1912).
- R.T. Bedingfield, 'Genealogical Supplement to the Bedingfield Papers', C.R.S. vii (1909), 423-34.
- W. Berry, County Genealogies: Pedigrees of Surrey Families. (1837).  
County Genealogies: Pedigrees of Sussex Families. (1830).
- G. Bertie, Five Generations of a Loyal House. (1845).
- P. Bertie, Memoirs of Peregrine Bertie, 11th Lord Willoughby. (1838).
- W.J. Blake, 'Fuller's list of Norfolk Gentry', Norfolk Arch. xxxii (1961), 261-91.
- F. Blomefield, An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk. (11 vols. 1805-10).
- J. Bulwer, 'Hassett's House, Pockthorpe', Norfolk Arch. vii (1872), 79-92.  
 'The Hobarts of Hales Hall', Norfolk Arch. xii (1892), 158-63.
- E. Burstall, 'The Pastons and their manor of Binham', Norfolk Arch. xxx (1952), 101-129.
- C.W. Carr Calthrop, Notes on the families of Calthorpe and Calthrop in the counties of Norfolk and Lincolnshire. (1905).
- A. Campling, History of the family of Drury in the Counties of Suffolk and Norfolk from the Conquest. (1937).
- J.H. Cooper, 'The Coverts', S.A.C. xlvii (1904), 116-38.
- W. Durrant Cooper, 'Pedigree of the Lewkenor family', S.A.C. iii (1850), 89-102.  
 'Notices on Winchelsea in and after the Fifteenth Century', S.A.C. viii (1856), 200-234.

- J. Corry, History of Lancashire. (2 vols. 1825).
- J. Croston, County Families of Lancashire and Cheshire. (1887).
- History of the Ancient Hall of Samlesbury in Lancashire.  
(1871).
- D.W. Davies, Elizabethans Errant. (Ithaca, 1967).
- J.A.C. Durham, The Townshends of Rainham. (Cambridge, 1922).
- J.W. Fitzwilliam, Parham in Sussex. (1947).
- R. Sharpe France, 'Lancashire Justices of the Peace in 1588',  
Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,  
xcv (1943), 131-3.
- T.E. Gibson, Lydiat Hall and its Associations. (1876).
- J. Gillow, 'Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire 1590', C.R.S. iv (1907),  
162-216.
- G.W.G. Leveson Gower, Genealogy of the family of Gresham. (1883).
- C.P. Hampson, The Book of the Radclyffes. (Edinburgh, 1940).
- G.L. Harrison, 'A few notes on the Lovells of East Harling', Norf. Arch.  
xviii (1914), 46-77.
- W.H. St. John Hope, Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of  
Sussex. (1919).
- C.E.D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex Monumental Brasses, part v', S.A.C.  
lxxx (1939), 93-148.
- J. Hunter, 'History and Topography of Ketteringham', Norf. Arch. lxi  
(1852), 245-314.
- R.W. Ketton-Cramer, The Pastons: the story of a Norfolk Family.  
(Norwich, 1953).
- 'Thomas Windham of Felbrigg', Norf. Arch. xxvii  
(1941), 417-28.
- J.S. Leatherbarrow, Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants. (C.S. New Ser.  
cx. 1947).
- R.B. Manning, 'Catholics and local office holding in Elizabethan Sussex'  
B.I.H.R. xxxv (1962), 47-61.

- R.H. Mason, History of Norfolk. (1884).
- M.C. Marse, Petworth in Ancient Times. (1950).
- P. Millican, The Gawdys of Norfolk and Suffolk. (Norwich, 1939).
- W.D. Pink and A.B. Beaven, The Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire (County and Borough), 1258-1885. (1889).
- A.L. Reade, Audley Pedigrees. (3 vols. 1929-36).
- W. Rye, Norfolk Families. (2 parts, Norwich, 1913-15).
- J. Seacome, History of the House of Stanley. (Manchester, 1840).
- C.D. Sherborn, History of the Family of Sherborn. (2 vols, the 2nd in typescript, 1901, 1918).
- Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries, ii. (1889).
- R. Somerville, 'Lancashire Justices of the Peace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cii (1950), 183-8.
- F.W. Steer, 'The Butts Family of Norfolk', Norfolk Arch. xxix (1946), 181-200.
- J. Stockdale, Annals of Cartmel. (Ulverston, 1872).
- Victoria History of the Counties of England, Lancashire. (8 vols. 1906-14).
- Victoria History of the Counties of England, Sussex. (6 vols. 1905-53).
- Victoria History of the Counties of England, Wiltshire, v. (1957).
- T. West, Antiquities of Furness. (Ulverston, 1813).
- W.B. Wilcox, Gloucestershire. A study in local government, 1590-1640. (New Haven, 1940).
- W.R. Williams, Parliamentary History of Wales. (Brecknock, 1895).
- E.H.D. Willoughby, Chronicles of the House of Willoughby de Eresby. (1896).
- H.A. Wyndham, A Family History, 1410-1688. The Wyndhams of Norfolk and Somerset. (1939).



4. Unpublished theses (London unless otherwise stated).

- S. Anglo, Public Spectacle in Early Tudor Policy. Ph.D. 1959.
- C.J. Black, The Administration and Parliamentary Representation of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Ph.D. 1966.
- J.T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry on the Eve of the Civil War. Ph.D. 1960.
- R.C. Gabriel, Members of the House of Commons, 1586-7. M.A. 1954.
- J.J. Goring, The Military Obligations of the English People, 1511-1558. Ph.D. 1955.
- M. Mort, The Personnel of the Parliament of 1601. M.A. 1952.
- J.E. Mauseley, Sussex Country Gentry in the Reign of Elizabeth. Ph.D. 1956.
- H. Miller, The Early Tudor Peerage, 1485-1547. M.A. 1950.
- W.P.D. Murphy, The Earl of Hertford's Lieutenancy in Wiltshire and Somerset, 1601-1621. M.A. 1963.
- J.C. Roberts, The Parliamentary Representation of Devon and Dorset, 1559-1601. M.A. 1958.
- A. Hassell Smith, The Elizabethan Gentry of Norfolk, Office Holding and Faction. Ph.D. 1959.
- R. Swales, The Parliamentary Representation of Sussex. Bristol Ph.D. 1964.
- J.B. Watson, The Lancashire Gentry 1529 to 1558, with special reference to their public services. M.A. 1959.

H. H. LEONARD.  
Ph.D.

Offprint from the *Bulletin of the  
Institute of Historical Research*,  
Vol. XLII, November 1969

this thing in aniwise se that you do not in your own name lest the people should know and beleue ye said it of enuy because the heretikes reproued in dede your false doctrine and naughty liuing. But [fo. 15a] let your temporal proctour do it to bleare the eyes of the commons withal, & make them beleue that he wyl be indifferent: ye or rather if it com so best to passe, you may do it your selues in the name of some proud boye, and for his labour cal him a yong gentilman whom you maye fayne to haue alledged againste these heretikes as manye stronge reasons as you your selues could ymagine: and lette those your Proctoures neuer goo Playnelye foorth the too the prooffe of any thyng nor dyspute the matter but wyth subtelties, sayenge, you cannot lye, calling these fooles [fo. 15b] arrogant Heretikes.

And nowe to conclude we certify you, that ye can do nothing to please us so highly, as to destroye our enemy Christ and his mischevous Gospel therfore aboue all other things beware that it procede not forth: for if his Gospel go abroad, we and al you are undone. Beware leaste these lewde Loselles beare you downe with their wretched byble, for you haue legion of lawes. XV hundred yeares old to maintayne your estate with al, se that ye stick fast to them, and to no other thing for if men fal to hys Gospell, they wyll [fo. 16a] geue you no more almose as long as you be strong and lustye but wyl crye upon you to labour as that beggerly wretche Paule dyd teach in hys eluyshe pystell. But beware of that, for then euery man will despise you: we truste in your wisdom, Wherefore we write not many thinges to yow, but take and printe this our hie commyssion in your hartes and worke thereafter, as we trust in you, and ye shall haue no lesse joye then owre selues haue, fare you wel: trust us as we do unto you.

[fo. 16b] written in our brighte and burning chayre, from oure infernal kingdome prepared to us and you with al our angels your lorde and royall king Sathanas under our seale manuell.

### *Ferrers' Case: a Note*

FERRERS' CASE, in which the house of commons angrily rescued one of its number from prison on its own authority and imprisoned the sheriffs who had arrested him, has long been regarded as noteworthy, both for its indication of the growing assertiveness of the lower House in its jealous defence of the privilege of members and also for the observations on the constitutional position of king in parliament which Henry VIII made in consequence. It is surprising, therefore, that historians have been using two different dates for the case, and that they have generally been unaware of the fact.

Most modern constitutional historians have placed the incident in the year 1543, the latest to do so being Professor Elton.<sup>1</sup> This date has a long and impressive pedigree, including Tanner,<sup>2</sup> Erskine May,<sup>3</sup> Hallam,<sup>4</sup> Hatsell<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Tudor Constitution*, ed. G. R. Elton (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 257, 267-70.

<sup>2</sup> *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, ed. J. R. Tanner (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 580-3.

<sup>3</sup> T. Erskine May, *A Practical Treatise on the Law, Privilege, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament* (1844), pp. 86-8. Later editions, including the most recent, edited by Sir Barnett Cocks in 1964, also accept the date 1543.

<sup>4</sup> H. Hallam, *Constitutional History of England* (2 vols., 1827), i. 289-90.

<sup>5</sup> J. Hatsell, *A Collection of Cases of Privilege of Parliament* (1776), p. 57, and *Precedents of Proceedings of the House of Commons* (3rd edn., 4 vols., 1796), i. 57.

and Prynne<sup>1</sup> (who appears to have taken the date from Crompton).<sup>2</sup> Alone among modern constitutional historians, Sir Kenneth Pickthorn<sup>3</sup> dates the case 1542, and he is supported only by C. H. Parry in the nineteenth century,<sup>4</sup> Vaillant, an eighteenth-century editor of Dyer,<sup>5</sup> Sidney Lee,<sup>6</sup> two historians of London,<sup>7</sup> and the unreliable Jacobite, Thomas Carte,<sup>8</sup> by no means so distinguished a group, half of whom would have made no claim to expert knowledge in constitutional matters.

Only two historians refer to the work of the other camp.<sup>9</sup> One is Pickthorn, who, while accepting much of Hatsell's interpretation of the case, does not note his inaccurate dating. The other is Hallam, who refers to Carte. Hallam accepts the date 1543 without any supporting argument,<sup>10</sup> ignoring Carte's 1542, probably because he judged him to be unsound on another matter—Carte alleged that the whole incident was a fabrication of the Puritans who prevailed upon Holinshed to include it in his history.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the fact that Carte had shown, *inter alia*, that the case could not have taken place in 1543 because parliament stood prorogued on 28 March was glossed over by Hallam, who, in his anxiety not to have the baby thrown out with the bath water, kept both.<sup>12</sup>

Even if Carte's improbable notion had been correct, however, there is no room for disagreement over the dating of the case (or myth), for both sides use Holinshed as practically the sole source, and he is quite clear: Ferrers, he notes, was arrested 'in the Lent Season, whilst the Parliament yet continued', and the year is obviously 1542, for not only does he place the incident in his section dealing with the regnal year 33 Henry VIII but he also informs the reader that the sheriffs of London were imprisoned for their part in the incident on 28 March.<sup>13</sup> Now 28 March came three days after Easter day in

<sup>1</sup>W. Prynne, *Brief Register . . . of Parliamentary Writs* (4 vols., 1659–64), iv. 850.

<sup>2</sup>R. Crompton, *L'Autorité et Jurisdiction des Cours de la Maestie de la Roygne* (1594), fo. 8b. Nearly all modern Tudor historians and historians of parliament follow one or another of these authorities.

<sup>3</sup>K. Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VIII* (1934), pp. 465 ff.

<sup>4</sup>C. H. Parry, *Parliaments and Councils of England* (1839), p. 205.

<sup>5</sup>*Reports of Cases . . . Collected by James Dyer*, ed. J. Vaillant (1794), fo. [61a].

<sup>6</sup>*D.N.B. s.n.* George Ferrers.

<sup>7</sup>J. G. White, *History of the Ward of Walbrook in the City of London* (1904), p. 202; R. R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom* (3 vols., 1894–5), i. 406.

<sup>8</sup>T. Carte, *A General History of England* (4 vols., 1747–55), iii. 164. W. Petyt, *Miscellanea Parliamentaria* (1681), p. 1, seeks the best of both worlds in a marginal note '34 Henry 8. An. Dom. 1542'.

<sup>9</sup>Elton (*Tudor Constitution*) lists Pickthorn in his bibliography but does not refer to him in his text.

<sup>10</sup>Hallam, i. 289.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 290; Carte, iii. 164, 541. On this point, see below, p. 232, n. 7.

<sup>12</sup>It is, perhaps, fair to add that Carte was much more concerned to show that the incident did not happen even in 1542, and throws in the date 1543 simply as additional weight to his argument. On Carte's argument against 1542, see below, p. 232, n. 7.

<sup>13</sup>Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (6 vols., 1807–8), iii. 824.

1543, whereas in 1542, Easter not falling until 9 April, the incident would indeed have occurred during Lent.

Further confirmation of Holinshed's accuracy comes from several quarters. First, Wriothesley, like Holinshed, places the arrest of the sheriffs on 28 March.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he names Rowland Hill as sheriff for the year in which the incident took place, and Hill was certainly sheriff during 1542, a point confirmed by the record of his selection on 17 July 1541<sup>2</sup> and by his account for the year commencing Michaelmas 33 Henry VIII on the Pipe Roll.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the privy council records verify that the incident took place before 1 April 33 Henry VIII when the council dealt with the case.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, what began as a slip of Crompton's pen in placing the case in 34 Henry VIII became a well established tradition as first Prynne and then successive generations of constitutional historians followed him (or each other) rather than Holinshed, whom they cite. So deeply has the myth become entrenched that the only recent constitutional historian to date the incident correctly made no impact upon it, a point made less surprising by the fact that Pickthorn himself seems unaware that he was breaking a tradition.

The dating of the case as March 1542 is important for reasons other than accuracy. After the serjeant of the Commons had had his request for the release of Ferrers rejected contemptuously 'with much proud language'<sup>5</sup> by the sheriffs and the clerk of the Counter, the indignant Commons proceeded to arrest and imprison both sheriffs, the clerk, and White, whose suit before the King's Bench had occasioned the trouble. They were released on 30 March at the 'humble sute made by the maior of London & other ther freends'<sup>6</sup> after payment. At more or less the same time<sup>7</sup> the king called a conference of the lord chancellor, the judges, the Speaker and 'other of the gravest persons of the Nether House' at which he made his famous declaration that

we at no time stand so highlie in our estate roiall as in the time of parlement,

<sup>1</sup> *Wriothesley's Chronicle* (Camden Soc., new ser., xi, xx), i. 135. See also Hall's briefer entry in his *Chronicle* (1809), p. 843.

<sup>2</sup> *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, i. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, E 372/387, London and Middlesex.

<sup>4</sup> P.R.O., P.C. 2/1 fo. 338 (printed in *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (1834-7), vii. 332). On fo. 336 there is a curious and erroneous marginal note in a later hand beside the entries for 25 and 26 March: 'Heere endeth the 33 yeare of Hen 8 T W', 'A<sup>o</sup> 34 Hen 8 1542'.

<sup>5</sup> *Holinshed's Chronicles*, iii. 824.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 825.

<sup>7</sup> Holinshed is vague on this point, but seems to suggest that it took place after nine or ten days' discussion in parliament (*Holinshed's Chronicles*, iii. 825). This is obviously too long a period, for parliament was prorogued on 1 Apr., a discrepancy which Carte used to damn the episode as a fabrication (Carte, iii. 164, 541). That the case was discussed, however, is shown by the fact that a bill 'for the privilege of Parliament' was received by the Lords and was given a second reading on 31 March (*Lords Journals*, i. 196). Assuming that Holinshed is correct in the order of events, therefore, the most likely dates for the conference are 31 March or early 1 Apr., before the prorogation ceremony.

wherein we as head, and you as members, are conioined and knit together into one bodie politike, so as whatsoever offense or inurie (during that time) is offered to the meanest member of the house, is to be iudged as doone against our person, and the whole court of parlement.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, Henry was at pains to point out that even had Ferrers not been a member of parliament he would still have enjoyed freedom from arrest as a royal servant.<sup>2</sup> Several commentators have seen in this a manoeuvre to minimize the Commons' claims by confusing the issue,<sup>3</sup> and the king's subsequent action in 1542 lends weight to the suspicion that he was not as wholehearted in his support of the Commons as Holinshed would have his readers believe. The sheriff in 1542 was, as we have seen, Rowland Hill, and on 18 May, while parliament stood prorogued, he was knighted by the king at Greenwich.<sup>4</sup>

Hill was a wealthy man, assessed for a loan some time after October 1536 at £2,000,<sup>5</sup> and was willing in December 1536 'to forbear unto a longer day' for the money the king owed him,<sup>6</sup> and as a prominent city merchant might be regarded as a likely candidate for knighthood at some time during his life. But he was not yet an alderman<sup>7</sup> and some prominent Londoners were dubbed only when they became lord mayor, a position Hill did not hold until 1549–50.<sup>8</sup> Certainly, sheriffs of London were not knighted as a matter of course, and Hill's knighthood, coming so soon after his part in the Ferrers' incident, but while parliament was prorogued, gives ground for suspecting that the honour was accorded him as compensation for his treatment a few weeks earlier.

Hill's social advancement was certainly not impeded by his part in violating a privilege which the king professed to hold in such high esteem. It may have been hastened. Henry was probably not as 'ready to look with favour upon the development of a privilege which made Parliament more important in the eyes of the community' as Tanner believed,<sup>9</sup> nor do the facts entirely bear out Pickthorn's picture of the Commons as 'a trusted inferior receiving encouragement'.<sup>10</sup> The best way Henry could have encouraged the Commons was by allowing the bill for the privilege of parliament, which they sent

<sup>1</sup>Holinshed's *Chronicles*, iii. 826.

<sup>2</sup>Ferrers was a royal page: *Proc. and Ordinances of the P.C.*, vii. 332.

<sup>3</sup>Hallam, i. 289; Hatsell, *Precedents*, i. 59; Pickthorn, p. 470; Elton (*Tudor Constitution*, p. 258) suggests that it 'may have been one of his little jokes'.

<sup>4</sup>*Wriothesley's Chronicle*, i. 135. Pickthorn (p. 471), the only commentator to have spotted the knighthood, places it wrongly in the autumn and does not give it quite the significance it gets here.

<sup>5</sup>British Museum, Cotton MS. Cleopatra F. vi fo. 344 (printed in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, viii, No. 478 and dated early 1535 although one of those listed, Sir Roger Chomley, was not knighted until Oct. 1536).

<sup>6</sup>*L. & P.*, xi, No. 1419.

<sup>7</sup>He became an alderman on 9 Nov. 1542: A. B. Beaven, *Aldermen of the City of London* (2 vols., 1908–13), ii. 31.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>*Tudor Constitutional Documents*, p. 579.

<sup>10</sup>Pickthorn, p. 465.



to the Lords on 31 March, to become law. But Henry prorogued parliament on 1 April with the bill still needing a third reading in the Lords. Instead of parliament indemnifying Ferrers, the council dealt with the matter.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to believe that an extra day would not have been found for the final stage of the bill had Henry been enthusiastic about it. More likely he was happy enough to mollify the angry members with soothing speeches while wresting from them the initiative they had grasped. It was, in the end, the king in council, not the king in parliament, who gave Ferrers lasting protection.

In 1542 Henry was on the horns of a dilemma: on the one hand he had to quieten, without antagonizing, an angry and assertive Commons on a matter of privilege, and also to protect a royal servant; on the other he had to show a possibly more important servant, the faithful and influential sheriff of London, that his services were appreciated. To achieve the first aim without sacrificing the second was no easy matter and it is a measure of Henry VIII's statesmanship that on this occasion he managed to eat his cake and have it.

H. H. LEONARD

### *Anglo-Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century: a Contemporary Memorandum*

'AN HUMBLE representm<sup>t</sup> of the State of affaires betweene England and Poland in the yeare. 1636, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> reasons of Englands discontinuance of entercourse by Publicke Ministers with that Crowne and Kingdome since the time forespecified', is the title of an unpublished seventeenth-century memorandum by John Fowler, advocate of the fleet, contained in British Museum, Additional MS. 11249 fos. 23-26b. Before it was acquired by the Museum this manuscript had belonged to the Danish antiquary, Grimur Jónsson Thorkelin (1752-1829). Another contemporary version, with slight textual variations, but in a very similar, probably identical, hand occurs in Additional MS. 4155 fos. 188-191b. This was in the collection of manuscripts bequeathed to the British Museum by the historian and writer, Dr. Thomas Birch (1705-66).<sup>2</sup> The quotations below are from the first-mentioned manuscript.

In 1635 Fowler was secretary to Sir George Douglas when the latter, as Charles I's ambassador, negotiated a truce between Poland and Sweden with the assistance of representatives of the king of France, the elector of Brandenburg and the States of Holland. Previously Fowler had been secretary to Sir Robert Anstruther, possibly between 1630 and 1636 when Anstruther was

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. and Ordinances of the P.C.*, vii. 332.

<sup>2</sup> See *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1836-40* (1843), p. 44; S. Ayscough, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum* (2 vols., 1782), i. 196-7; S. Kot, 'Anglo-Polonica; Angielskie Źródła Rękopiśmienne do Dziejów Stosunków Kulturalnych Polski z Anglią', *Nauki Polskiej*, xx (1935), 99-100.